# *Recounting the Past*

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**Dedicated to Margaret Allen**

# *Recounting the Past*

## Dedication

*On behalf of the ISU History Department, this volume is dedicated to the memory of Margaret Allen (September 11, 1998– April 15, 2024) and the difference she made as a student on our campus and beyond.*

Acknowledgments:

Through its journal *Recounting the Past*, the History Department is honored to recognize the research excellence of its undergraduate and graduate students, and the dedicated mentorship of its faculty. Alongside these students and faculty, many thanks go out to individuals who invested their time and effort at various stages of the production process. These include the University Marketing and Communication team that guided the journal through the publication process, and Trish Gudeman, Administrative Aide in the History Department, who served as the liaison with Marketing and Communication and provided her organizational expertise to realize the project.

## Cover Image

The photograph on the cover of this issue is of the shadow lines cast by the partial eclipse we experienced on campus this year.

Source: Photo by Nathan Kapoor, Taken at Illinois State University, April 8, 2024.

**Note from the Editor:**

This collection of essays and papers features the excellence of students in ISU's history courses. Students gave us, the editors and the professors that selected them, more than we should be able to expect of undergraduate and graduate researchers. These papers exhibit excellent research and weave together fascinating questions about how we conduct research and uncover historical narratives.

Margaret Allen, the student to whom the volume is dedicated, traces the transnational and trans-institutional history of the postwar hunt for Adolf Eichmann, a ranking member of the SS under the Nazis who helped them achieve the "Final Solution." The paper "The Entanglement of Justice: Eichmann, Argentina, Israel, and U.S. Foreign Intelligence" highlights the malleable circumstances surrounding criminals who committed crimes to be tried by internationally comprised institutions. The story demonstrates the authority and sway intelligence agencies wielded in the late twentieth century to the benefit and sometimes detriment of the groups they were meant to protect or the "justice" they were meant to serve. The paper effectively reinforces the need for nuanced histories of the unevenness of international law for the disenfranchised populations.

Julia Baker's paper, "Humanitarianism and Women Missionaries: Mount Holyoke Seminary School of Bitlis, Turkey (1868-1917) explores the early history of "modern humanitarianism" through the stories of the women missionaries at Mount Holyoke's Seminary School. These women were entangled in the violence unleashed against the Armenian people by the Turkish State during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their goals expanded beyond general education and proselytization, including expansive pushes for human rights, gender equality, and non-violence. Baker incorporated excellent archival research into her paper, including some provoking photos of these activists from the Five College's collections. It was an extraordinary effort to locate social justice initiatives during an incredibly violent period.

In "Stained Glass Window to the West: St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod, 1050-1300," Bradley Harris challenges the historiography of Europe in the Middle Ages that casts an imbalanced picture of Europe as neatly divided between Eastern and Western Europe and instead suggests that St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod exists in a liminal space that is neither Eastern nor Western. He explores the cathedral's rich history as a site of pride, culture, religious observance, and political power by exposing its function in significant events and analyzing its architecture.

Through this research, Harris intervenes in a larger discussion about the legacy of Orientalist prejudices that are still alive in our scholarship. He convincingly shows one way we can begin to dismantle them.

During the late twentieth century, American pop much changed radically in scoring and lyrical composition. In, “German Sounds, American Ears: The American Perspective on West German Pop Music,” Zachery Siadek disentangles how pop music's transnational technologies and culture revealed postwar anxieties about national identity and cultural annihilation. He charts how people in America and Germany listened to music and which bands appealed to varied audiences. Using a wealth of empirical data, his research provides valuable evidence to challenge the assumptions about borders, language, and culture that needlessly fabricate division when we might explore overlap instead.

Given the worldwide immigration crises we face, Wiktoria Zawadzka’s “The Displaced Person Question: A Turning Point in the Polish American Congress’ Lobbying Activities, 1944-1948,” reminds us of the origins of postwar refugee policies that continue to guide immigration law. As she notes, the history of Polish-American lobbying is scarce, which ignores the role they played in transforming the law concerning Displaced Persons (DPs). She persuasively argues that the immigration policies that swept the United States need to be broken down, and lobbying parties, like the Polish American Congress, must be given a place of prominence in how we recast that history.

In “Electrification and the Birth of the Modern U.S. Navy,” Joshua Blood expands both the history of electrification and the modernization of navies by insisting that the two processes must be studied together. He makes clear that new electrical technologies aboard U.S. vessels not only changed the physical construction and tools on ships but also altered all naval bureaucracy. The prerequisite knowledge and skills needed to design, build, and use electric lighting, propulsion, and fighting required a new educational regime. These changes played a role in shaping naval policy and perception of U.S. naval superiority. In step with recent histories of electrification, Blood ties the material and human networks of electrification to broader historical trends like modernization, imperialism, and nationalism.

“Rosie’s Reality: Representations of Working Women in Wartime America, 1940-1950,” demythologizes the famed Rosie the Riveter trope that appeared during World War II and persists in public memory. Riley Biondi shows how the imaginary that people constructed around Rosie eclipses the lived experience of working

women who worked for their families' survival before and after the war. Oversimplified interpretations of these women as being patriotic or "working until the men return" misrepresent their stories and reinforce problematic patriarchal power structures. Biondi utilizes a wide range of primary and secondary sources and a fantastic collection of images (see Appendix). By insisting on a more accurate portrayal of these women, she shows how Rosie's story is reflected in the continued idealization of women along racial, gendered, and classist lines in both print and digital culture.

In "The Whole World is Watching: Expecting Violence in Chicago During the 1968 Democratic Convention," Erin Wilcox argues that protesters and the Chicago government's insistence on preparing for violence created the very crisis they hoped to prevent. Her narrative connects the conflicts on foreign soil and the debates within the intellectual activist community through one of the most famous protests in U.S. history. Her exploration of the well-studied event seeks to adequately address violence by including inaction as part of it.

Brianna Bowman's paper exposes the presence of gender fluidity in Christian Communities during Antiquity. Through a historical analysis of clothing, behavior, and monasticism, "Holy Women in Disguise? Gender-Crossing Saints in Late-Antiquity" successfully demonstrates the existence of a spectrum of genders in early Christian communities that conflated masculinity and femininity with differing degrees of holiness. By embracing this fluidity, some early Christians used their identity to navigate these dynamics. Her paper shows the need for careful reconsideration of the rigidity of gendered binaries. In doing so in Late Antiquity, Bowman demonstrates the overbearing presence and inaccuracy of cisnormativity in the hagiographic record. Furthermore, she highlights how historians can adjust their methodological approach to recover non-traditional in what many might consider unlikely places.

In "In the Face of Humiliation: A Revaluation of the Mexican-American War," Raul Rebollar argues that historians have too often portrayed the role of America in the war as reactive to Mexican interference when, in fact, the administration of James K. Polk devised a manipulative strategy to instigate the war. In this critique of the American historiography of the war, Rebollar highlights how Mexicans frame this war as an invasion committed by the United States. Using Mexican and American archives he shows how Polk fanned the flames of Manifest Destiny and anti-Americanism through newspapers and legislation. By refusing to accept the inevitability of the war, Rebollar encourages historians to remain vigilant about how we assign blame. Otherwise, we risk yielding to historiography tainted by

manipulation, as happened in the memory of the Mexican-American War in general U.S. history.

And lastly, in "Risk for the Betterment of Life," Alyn Rosales constructed a prescient and deeply thoughtful history of her family and their experience with immigration. She asks potent questions for historians as they write histories of recent waves of immigration, especially when we consider what has and has not changed in the last three decades. On top of the insightful exploration of her family, she conducted oral interviews with her maternal and paternal grandparents. Using the tools and methodology she practiced in our department's "Family History" course, Rosales demonstrates how historians must adjust their methodology when confronting difficult, often invisible, sources of information. She utilizes the sources incredibly well and convincingly highlights the paradoxical and cruel reality of the characteristics Americans ascribe to immigrant communities that all at once make them respectable citizens and socioeconomic villains.

Although these papers cover a variety of geographies, temporalities, and historiographies, they all center on contradictions. The papers highlight contradictory historiographies, paradoxical legal structures, hypocritical politics, and things that might not initially make sense. They all find ways to challenge us to think about our methodology and story-telling so that we might avoid such patterns in our own writing and teaching. Since we experienced a partial eclipse on April 8th, 2024, I selected a photo of the shadow bands we saw on campus that day. These bands are comprised of wavy lines of alternating light and dark. The effect is the result of refraction caused by the Earth's atmospheric turbulence. Historically, these bands have challenged physicists' theories of light and refraction but have also been used to clarify how we understand waves of light. To the uninformed eye, they don't make sense. They may even seem wrong. Shadows should not look like that. However, they confirm how we understand the movement of light. Shadow lines, with their varied and shifting light and dark colors, challenge us to test what we know and sometimes offer new perspectives on the world. They may even show us a new way to think about something. The stories our students tell in the following pieces present similar contradictions that encourage readers to expand their knowledge, challenge familiar narratives, and explore fresh approaches to doing history.

**Table of Contents**

Papers:

# Papers

## The Entanglement of Justice: Eichmann, Argentina, Israel, and U.S. Foreign Intelligence[1]

***By Margaret Allen***

**Introduction**

Following World War II, Allied Forces in West Germany were faced with an important decision: what to do with former leaders of the Nazi Party. In response, the four major Allied nations established the International Military Tribunal on August 8, 1945, with the express purpose of "the just and prompt trial and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis."[2] The suicides of Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Joseph Goebbels meant that the three foremost leaders of the Third Reich would never stand trial for their roles in the most infamous mass genocide in recorded history. Many prominent Nazis captured by Allied Forces following the war were tried at Nuremberg between 1945 and 1946, with 12 subsequent trials occurring up until 1949.[3] However, the whereabouts of many other Nazi leaders remained unknown. Josef Mengele, Klaus Barbie, Alois Brunner, and Adolf Eichmann, for example, managed to secure escape through the ratlines to South America and the Middle East.

As a mid-ranking member of the SS, Adolf Eichmann was perhaps not the most significant or notable member in the Nazi party. His role as "desk executioner" and coordinator of mass deportations of Jews to concentration camps exposed what Hannah Arendt referred to as the "banality of evil:" the overwhelmingly mundane

[1] Considering the recent events of the Israeli-Palestine conflict, I want to assert that any positions within this essay regarding Zionism do not necessarily reflect my own personal views. This essay serves to address justice and foreign relations in the wake of the Holocaust, and while Zionism indeed plays a pivotal role in Israeli foreign relations and in the Eichmann trial itself, the depth and breadth required to address its present-day consequences and ramifications far exceed the scope of this paper.

[2] Agreement for the prosecution and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis, London, 8 August 1945, United Nations Treaty Series, vol. 82, No. 251, 284, http://untreaty.un.org/unts/1_60000/2/35/00003709.pdf.

[3] U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian, "The Nuremberg Trial and the Tokyo War Crimes Trials (1945– 1948)," *Milestones: 1945-1952*, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/nuremberg.

bureaucratic participation in crimes against humanity that defined much of Adolf Eichmann's career.[4] Despite the connotation of a "lesser" evil, this banality was foundational to the execution of the "Final Solution," and the trial of someone like Eichmann was a necessary statement to make on fascism following the Second World War.

Following Eichmann's eventual escape from Allied custody, a new question arose: who is responsible for finding and bringing him to trial? Despite the Nuremberg trials being held by the IMT in West Germany, capturing Eichmann required further intelligence outside the capability of German intelligence group the Gehlen Organization, due to difficulties with personnel continuities and compromised agents.[5] Additionally, the U.S. Army's Counterintelligence Corps was the only intelligence organization with the power of arrest in occupied West Germany and Austria, further deterring West German involvement in the Eichmann case in the late 1940s.[6] Following the advent of the State of Israel in 1948 and Eichmann's escape to Argentina in 1950, two new international players emerged in the hunt for Eichmann, including Israeli intelligence agency Mossad. With Eichmann out of Europe, newfound complexity in diplomatic relations then added another layer of difficulty to the search. The CIA continued to receive intelligence information regarding Eichmann until 1958, with information oscillating between Israel and the U.S. through advocates for justice in the Jewish community of the United States, Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal's personal intelligence information on Eichmann in 1954, and German prosecutor Fritz Bauer's information on Eichmann's whereabouts in 1957. Ultimately, the precarious triangulation of international relations among the U.S., Israel, and Argentina regarding the pursuance and capture of Adolf Eichmann is demonstrative of how the administration of justice hinges on bureaucratic diplomacy and national security intelligence interests.

**Why Argentina?**

It is no secret that Argentina under Juan Perón's regime was positioned sympathetically to the Third Reich. A cooperative agreement was established in 1943 between Argentine military and Nazi SD representatives that included "freedom from

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[4] Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, (New York: Penguin, 2006), 252.
[5] Robert Hutchinson, *German Foreign Intelligence from Hitler's War to the Cold War: Flawed Assumptions and Faulty Analysis*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019), 181.
[6] Richard Breitman et al., *U.S. Intelligence and the Nazis,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 338.

arrest for Nazi agents in Argentina [and] camouflage identification for them as members of the Argentine secret service."[7] During the war, Argentina took an official stance of neutrality, but the regular denial of European Jewish refugees into the country, their subsequent extortion by the Argentine government for visas, Perón's own anti-Semitism within his personal writings and tapes, and the Peronist regime's closeness to the Nazi government are indicative of a hidden, more sinister stance.[8] Despite this, Perón "always denied in his public statements that he was either a Fascist or a Nazi."[9]

In 1946, Argentina's Immigration Commissioner and known anti-Semite Santiago Peralta "created a National Ethnic Institute to prevent 'the formation of foreign communities or minorities.'"[10] The purpose of this institution was articulated in discussions between Peralta and Argentinian military generals about specific measures to discourage immigration of Jews to Argentina. Peralta's connection to Rodolfo Freude, the leader of the Intelligence Bureau, former personal secretary to President Perón and a German-Argentinian whose father's ties to the Nazi Party were known internationally, led to the formation of a Nazi rescue team. These "rescued" Nazis were then recruited into the Immigration Department and military, among other positions within the Argentine government. Included within this team of Nazi rescuers was Carlos Fuldner, a former SS captain who would later arrange for the immigration of one SS-*Obersturmbannführer*, Adolf Eichmann.[11]

**Argentine-U.S. Relations post-1945**

Relations between the U.S. and Argentina following the war could be described as contentious, at best. In 1951, shortly after Eichmann's escape, the Department of State issued a policy statement, declaring that the U.S.'s objectives are a "realization by Argentina that its traditional neutralism is not feasible in the world of today and that in US-Argentine relations Argentina needs the US more than the US needs Argentina…"[12] Anger over wartime neutrality was maintained for

[7] Uki Goñi, *The Real Odessa: How Peron Brought The Nazi War Criminals To Argentina (*London: Granta Books, 2003), 16.
[8] Goñi, *The Real Odessa,* 100.
[9] Joseph A. Page, *Perón: A Biography*, (New York: Random House, 1983), 89.
[10] Goñi, *The Real Odessa*, 109.
[11] Ibid., 108-110.
[12] U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian, "Policy Statement Prepared in the Department of State: Argentina," *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951, The*

several years following the end of World War II. Several prominent members of the U.S. government felt that Argentina was a breeding ground for fascist ideology, including Ambassador Spruille Braden, who "claimed that the Fourth Reich was in preparation in [Argentina]."[13] This anti-Argentinian sentiment culminated in the publication of *The Blue Book* in 1946, which attempted to damage Juan Perón's image in preparation for the upcoming election with accusations regarding Nazi sympathy. Further, it depicted his governance as a totalitarian regime designed to establish a fascist state in the Western Hemisphere. Concern regarding the Peronist regime's fascist sympathies cooled considerably following the repositioning of American foreign relations into anti-Communism and the deposition of Perón in 1955. Perón's ousting came as a welcome change to some in the United States, no longer solely because of Argentina's neutral stance and ties to fascism, but because of Perón's established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.[14] Following the election of Arturo Frondizi, the Department of State's National Intelligence Estimate of August 1958 made several mentions of communism and asserted the likelihood that the Frondizi administration might enable the free operation of a communist party in Argentina.[15] This shift in concern from fascism to communism made further pursuance of Nazi war criminals in Argentina an irrelevant goal for American intelligence agencies and potentially jeopardized the healing of U.S.-Argentine relations.

Despite the difficulties between the U.S. and Argentina, Perón wanted to cultivate improved relations between the two countries. Perón and other Argentinian leaders felt that the best way to improve relations with the U.S. was to establish good relations with Israel, which would "win over American Jews, who… had significant influence in Washington."[16] Perón's administration tried, perhaps in vain, to improve

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*United Nations; The Western Hemisphere, Volume II*, Document 680, October 26, 1951, https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1951v02/d680.

[13] Soledad Altrudi, "Of Personalities and Democratization in U.S. Public Diplomacy: The Case of the Blue Book on Argentina," USC Center on Public Diplomacy, 2015, https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/student-paper/personalities-and-democratization-us-public-diplomacy-case-blue-book-argentina-0#_ftn32.

[14] Raanan Rein, *Argentina, Israel, and the Jews*, (Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 2003), 86.

[15] U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian, "National Intelligence Estimate: The Outlook for Argentina," *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960, American Republics, Volume V*, Document 153, August 5, 1958, https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v05/d153.

[16] Rein, *Argentina, Israel, and the Jews*, xx.

relations not only with Israel, but also with the Argentinian Jewish community in an effort to capture the admiration of American Jews and ultimately, the U.S. government itself. Perón became the first head of state to openly denounce Soviet treatment of the Jewish people, and Ambassador Jacob Tsur attempted to elicit the Israeli government's assistance in improving Argentine relations with the U.S.[17] There was little improvement, however, due to increasing U.S. suspicion of Perón following his establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1952.[18]

**Israeli-Argentine Relations**

Argentina's goal in creating friendly associations with Israel was one of opportunity. As previously stated, good relations with Israel gave Argentina an opportunity to improve their relationship with the United States. The Perón administration's previous proclivity for anti-Semitism and abstention from the UN vote on Palestine did not initially bode well for cultivating improved relations. The UN vote on Palestine was particularly important for Argentine Jews, as "[t]he organized Jewish community displayed unconditional solidarity with Zionist Israel."[19] However, in June of 1949, Perón publicly expressed his affections for the State of Israel. This served as one of many attempts to extend a friendly gesture towards Israel and legitimized the association of Argentinian Jews with Zionism.[20] By 1950, although Perón failed to make significant headway with the Argentinian Jewish community, a trade agreement with Israel secured solid relations between the two states for the remainder of the Peronist regime.[21]

Near the end of the Perón administration in 1955, a subsequent rise in anti-Semitism heavily sponsored by the Catholic Church further increased Jewish support for a new government. After the Liberating Revolution under General Aramburu, the acting president within a caretaker government post-Perón, Argentinian Jewish interests were a prominent platform for the regime. Unlike Perón, however, Aramburu and government officials appeared to be less sensitive to the demands and needs of the Jewish community.[22] In 1958, Arturo Frondizi ran on a campaign promoting Jewish interests, and his subsequent election was encouraging to both the Argentine Jewish community and the Israeli state, as a majority of Jews supported

[17] Rein, *Argentina, Israel, and the Jews*, 85-87.
[18] Ibid., 86.
[19] Ibid., 78.
[20] Ibid., 78-79.
[21] Ibid., 105.
[22] Ibid., 149.

the Radical Party.[23] The resulting security felt by the Argentinian Jews following the election of Frondizi further strengthened the relationship between Jerusalem and Buenos Aires.

**The Capture of Adolf Eichmann**

Adolf Eichmann was captured in Buenos Aires by the Mossad on May 11, 1960. After receiving intelligence reports of Eichmann's location and alias from Simon Wiesenthal and Fritz Bauer, the Mossad and the Israeli government under David Ben-Gurion made the decision to kidnap Eichmann. At this point, Mossad had not been actively pursuing Eichmann (partly due to the ongoing Palestinian conflict), and, similarly to U.S. intelligence agencies, the push for continuing prosecution efforts of Nazi war criminals came from individual private citizens not formally associated with governmental intelligence.[24] Capturing and trying Eichmann in Israel gave Ben-Gurion an opportunity to further his political interests by establishing legitimacy in Zionist ideology and solidifying Israel as the rightful Jewish homeland.[25]

The term "kidnapping" is frequently used to describe the capture of Eichmann, and its use in this case is appropriate given the political circumstances surrounding the event. Just a few days prior to the kidnapping, an extradition treaty was signed between Argentina and Israel. However the conditions of the treaty would not have ensured extradition to Israel, but rather to one of the other countries in which his crimes took place, as the Israeli state did not exist before 1948.[26] Similarly, an extradition request made by Germany to Argentina in the case of Dr. Josef Mengele resulted in his disappearance, demonstrating that "legal channels would not work."[27]

After Eichmann was arrested and brought to Israel, the government of Argentina under Frondizi argued that their national sovereignty had been violated.[28] It is important to note that the diplomatic crisis that proceeds from Eichmann's capture follows decades of attempts by the Argentinian government to secure friendly relations with Israel while trying to retain its diplomatic individualism and

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[23] Ibid., 155.
[24] Tuija Parvikko, *Arendt, Eichmann and the Politics of the Past*, (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2021), 58, https://doi.org/10.33134/pro-et-contra-2.
[25] Parvikko, *Arendt, Eichmann*, 65-66.
[26] Ibid., 54.
[27] Rein, *Argentina, Israel, and the Jews*, 165.
[28] Ibid., 177.

the uncertain, if not contradictory, relationship between Perón and the Argentinian Jews. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion was reluctant to admit to Mossad's involvement but did not shy from expressing his motives for wanting to prosecute Eichmann.[29] Argentina brought the issue to the United Nations, and on June 23, 1960, UN Resolution 138 was passed, with Argentina requesting "the Government of Israel to make appropriate reparation in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law."[30] However, this did not fully resolve the crisis, and it was not until Argentina expelled Israeli Ambassador Arieh Levavi that an acceptable resolution was reached. Ultimately, it was the previously friendly relations between Israel and Argentina and the newly installed yet still precarious Frondizi administration that enabled a swift resolution to the international conflict.

**U.S. Intelligence and the Eichmann Affair**

On October 20, 1953, the CIA issued a memorandum for the record regarding Eichmann stating:

> [W]hile CIA has a continuing interest in the whereabouts and activities of individuals such as EICHMANN, we are not in the business of apprehending war criminals, hence in no position to take an active role in this case; that we would, however, be alert for any information regarding EICHMANN's whereabouts and pass it on to appropriate authorities (probably the West German Government) for such action as may be indicated.[31]

While this statement may appear to be a sort of hostile inaction on behalf of the CIA, Eichmann intelligence up until that point and beyond was extremely limited. Documentation now shows that Eichmann was sent to a POW camp in Weiden under American custody, where he managed to avoid recognition, eventually using a pseudonym to escape.[32] It was not until January of 1946 that the "CIC recognized that Eichmann was partly responsible for the extermination of six million Jews."[33] The CIC originally spearheaded efforts to capture Eichmann, but the

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[29] Parvikko, *Arendt, Eichmann*, 63.
[30] UN (United Nations) Security Council. 1960. Resolution adopted by the Security Council on 23 June 1960 – Question relating to the case of Adolf Eichmann, 868th meeting, 138, http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/138.
[31] Robert Wolfe, "The CIA and Adolf Eichmann| National Archives," National Archives, 15 August 2016, https://www.archives.gov/iwg/research-papers/eichmann.html.
[32] Richard Breitman and Norman J.W. Goda, *Hitler's Shadow*, (Washington D.C.: National Archives, 2009), 12.
[33] Breitman and Goda, *Hitler's Shadow,* 12.

frontloading of Cold War efforts meant that they eventually lost interest.[34] The October 20th CIA memorandum came in response to an Orthodox Jewish advocacy group Vaad Ha-Hatzalah, led by Rabbi Abraham Kalmanowitz, and their repeated requests for continued action in the Eichmann case.

Archival CIA documentation from 1948 onward reveals an extensive amount of erroneous information regarding Adolf Eichmann and his whereabouts. A memorandum dated September 15, 1948 from J. Edgar Hoover to the Director of Central Intelligence, at that time Roscoe Hillenkoetter, stated that "Adolf Karl Eichmann [sic] … is now in Egypt, apparently working underground," and attributed recent pogroms in Cairo to Eichmann.[35] Misnomers of Eichmann, Adolf Karl Eichmann (his real name being Otto Adolf Eichmann) and Karl Heinz Eichmann, were used multiple times within the documents.[36] A 1953 rumor overstates Eichmann's relationship to the Palestinian Grand Mufti Amin al-Husseini and that Eichmann had contacted al-Husseini for financial assistance while in Cairo. In that same report, Eichmann is also purported to have converted to Islam in 1948 and begun working for the Syrian government.[37] Even as late as 1958, CIA reports state that Eichmann was born in Israel and was living in Jerusalem. The March 1958 report appears to be the first mention of Eichmann in Argentina using the alias Clemens.[38]

**Conclusion**

Historian Robert Wolfe argues, "[T]he [CIA] directly and indirectly employed and protected Axis war criminals for its Cold War intelligence purposes, but it learned Adolf Eichmann's whereabouts for certain only after his 1960 capture. In this Eichmann Affair, CIA seems blameless."[39] While it is true that a lack of credible intelligence inhibited U.S. agencies' further involvement in the hunt for

[34] Breitman et al., *U.S. Intelligence*, 338.
[35] John Edgar Hoover to Director of Central Intelligence, 15 September 1948, Memo for the Record, Central Intelligence Agency, Adolf Eichmann Name File, National Archives at College Park, RG 263, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/139331937.
[36] 23 November 1952, Central Intelligence Agency, Adolf Eichmann Name File, National Archives at College Park, RG 263, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/139331937?objectPage=3.
[37] 23 November 1952, Adolf Eichmann Name File.
[38] 19 March 1958, Central Intelligence Agency, Adolf Eichmann Name File, National Archives at College Park, RG 263, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/139331937?objectPage=7.
[39] Wolfe, "The CIA and Adolf Eichmann."

Eichmann, it must be noted that the diplomatic relations among Argentina, Israel, and the United States added another significant element to the matter. Justice is not straightforward or easy; compounding factors such as international law, precedence, and geopolitical relationships complicate even the most straightforward and perceptibly uncomplicated issues. The Eichmann case is no different.

The Eichmann Affair sets an international precedent for future human rights justice campaigns. On the heels of a renewed active Israeli-Palestine conflict, it is imperative to understand the implications of righteousness and virtue for the subjugated and disenfranchised. "[Justice] demands seclusion, it permits sorrow rather than anger, and it prescribes the most careful abstention from all the nice pleasures of putting oneself in the limelight."[40]

[40] Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 6.

# Humanitarianism and Women Missionaries: Mount Holyoke Seminary School of Bitlis, Turkey, 1868-1917

*By Julia Baker*

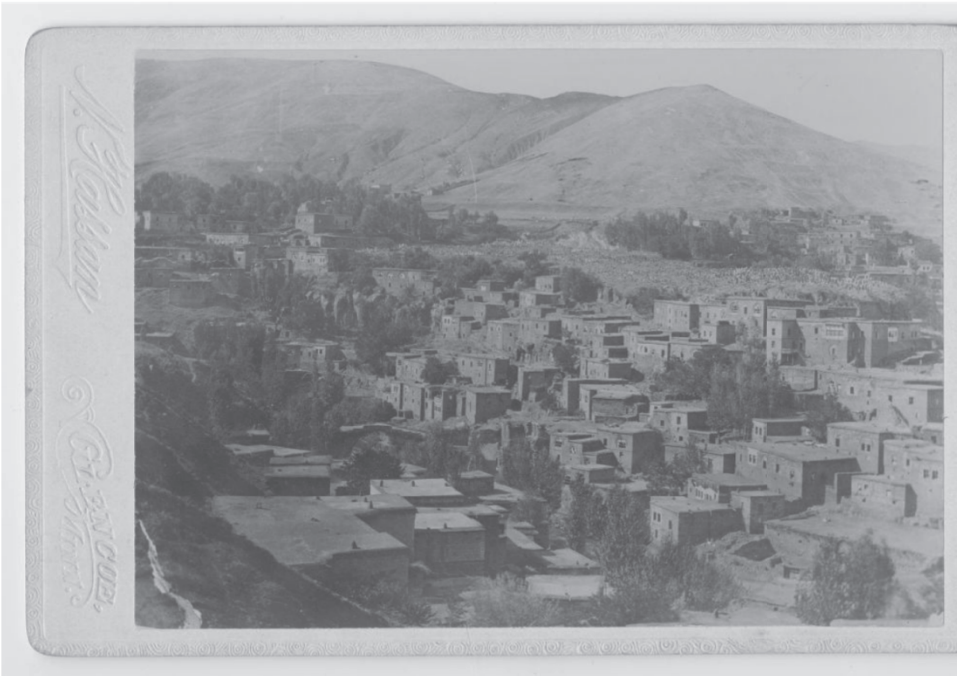

*Figure 1 "View of Bitlis, Turkey, where Charlotte and Mary Ely Founded School", from the Five Colleges Digital Collections*

The city of Bitlis is a landscape of mountains, lakes, and rivers in the southeastern region of modern-day Turkey. Living within the Kurdish-controlled region of Bitlis were Armenians along with Western powers of the British and Americans. The Mount Holyoke Seminary School in Bitlis was established in 1868 by two sisters, Charlotte, and Mary Ely, to bring Armenians to Protestant Christianity by educating women and girls. The missionaries practiced different denominations of Protestant Christianity, and Mary Ely documented her involvement within the Bitlis

Evangelical Society, which worked to spread their religion to the people of Bitlis.[41] Missionaries, especially Protestant Christians, through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), were not allowed to proselytize other Abrahamic religions, so Muslim Ottomans could not be converted, leaving the Armenian population. The Armenians were deemed easy to educate and became the focus of the Seminary School's efforts due to their 'closeness' to the practices of 19th-century Christianity.[42] The communities of Armenians consisted of Gregorian and Orthodox Christianity, which made conversion to Protestantism easier, especially with the religions having similar fundamental practices.[43] Both Western men and women missionaries were within the Middle East to help 'civilize' the Oriental societies. Westerners believed that the East needed to be corrected or rescued and brought to honor and greatness. The missionaries' concern for Armenians brought freedoms through conversion efforts to Protestantism, which continued through World War I and the Armenian Genocide.

Modern humanitarianism is defined as "concern for human welfare as a primary or pre-eminent moral good … with the implication of excessive sentimentality towards criminals and the poor," meaning that it is efforts towards promoting the common good for those deemed less fortunate.[44] The gender roles of women within the 19th century included the occupations of wives, mothers, nurses, and educators, which were utilized within their missionary work. The women missionaries housed an orphanage at the Seminary School to take in Armenian children whose parents and families were lost in prior attacks. The women began their work with the intention of bringing their religion to the region of Turkey but as sentiments towards Armenians grew violent, the goals of the missionaries shifted towards promoting the safety of the Armenian women and girls being educated within their institutions. The women of Mount Holyoke Seminary School experienced the tensions between the Turkish government and the Armenian people throughout their fifty years in the region. To create a unified, national identity of Muslim Turks, the state started efforts to remove Armenians in the 1890s. Because

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[41] Mary Ely, "Letter from Mary Ely '61 to her uncle and aunt; written in Bitlis, Turkey", August 01, 1882, page 2, https://compass-stage.fivecolleges.edu/object/mtholyoke:16401.

[42] Sarah Zeynep Güven, *American Foreign Missions to the Ottoman Empire: The Education of Armenian Women and Girls*, (Osmanbey, Istanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2019), 36.

[43] Güven, *American Foreign Missions*, 70.

[44] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "humanitarianism, n., sense 2", July 2023 https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/2736144028.

missionaries experienced attacks firsthand, therefore, they developed what is now considered modern humanitarianism, i.e., the idea that the actions of individuals or groups are to advance the welfare of other groups of people, through the lens of social justice.

**Orientalism and Women Missionaries:**

In Keith David Watenpaugh's book, *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism*, he explores relief efforts of the West in the Middle East after World War I, arguing that modern humanitarianism began after the war and genocide through the relief efforts of American Protestants. Watenpaugh acknowledges humanitarian efforts took place leading up to the Armenian Genocide, especially through Protestant religions, with the original intention of "White Man's Burden", to save the Oriental societies through religious teachings.[45]

According to Edward W. Said, an aspect of Orientalism is the "Western projection onto and will to govern over the Orient."[46] Because the Western world was Christian and considered themselves to be superior, Western powers established colonialism within the Middle East to bring ideologies and practices to the region to save the people in the Middle East. Missionaries worked towards educating and liberating Orthodox women from traditional practices of young, arranged marriages, because they saw it as restricting the independence for girls.[47] Education was key in the spread of Protestant Christianity into an Orthodox community, which, in the eyes of Western missionaries, liberated Armenian women and girls. The relief efforts of the missionaries shifted as the needs within the region changed. In the beginning of the mission work in Bitlis, the goal was to convert the Armenians, but after attacks and massacres, the orphanages were established, and the women focused on the education of the Armenian women and girls within their care. There were limitations to the extent of humanitarian aid that could be provided to the Armenians, but the women missionaries' priorities shifted decades before the First World War at the occurrence of the first attacks on the Armenian people.

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[45] Keith David Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism*, (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015), 5.
[46] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, First Edition, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 95.
[47] Dorothy Birge Keller and Robert S. Keller, "American Board Schools in Turkey" in *The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work, 1810-2010*, ed. Clifford Putney and Paul T. Burlin, (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 51.

Missionaries, especially those under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, were trained on the importance of teaching religion, rather than forcing a religion. Women, beginning in the 1860s, while expanding into the Woman's Board of Missions and Woman's Board of Missions of Interior, pushed for the education of women abroad.[48] The goals of missionaries were to work Christianity into the lives of the native people and allow faith to intertwine with existing practices. The men missionaries, however, believed their role was to convert, which is seen in the gendered ideas of mission work. "Women missionary educators negotiated with the men, among themselves, and with the ABCFM leadership over the value of education versus conversion" since their role as educators were essential in humanitarian aid efforts because education is a fundamental right of people, so establishing schools abroad allowed for safety for women and children.[49]

American women in the 19th century were receiving college educations for the first time with the establishment of women's collegiate institutions, which opened the pathway to missionary work. Women, however, were not trained in preaching due to gendered divisions of labor on missions, so there was the push to educate on missions, though men continued to push for conversion.[50] Because of this large distinction, women formed their own mission groups and communication channels which shifted the goals to granting educational access to other women and girls. It is important to consider the efforts of women missionaries when defining modern humanitarianism because they worked within the constraints of gender to provide education and relief to Armenians during the changing political landscape within Bitlis, starting with the 1890s massacres.

Founding seminary schools was important in establishing the distinction between solely spreading gospel, which was imperial in nature, and the more humanitarian effort of educating and civilizing society. Missionary efforts started with the intention of saving the souls of the Armenians and missionaries thought it best be done in the vernacular.[51] But within educational-based missions, the women

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[48] Güven, *American Foreign Missions*, 12.
[49] Roberta Wollons "Writing Home to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: Missionary Women Abroad Narrate Their Precarious Worlds, 1869-1915" in *Women, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*, ed. Christine Mayer and Adelina Arredondo, (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 94.
[50] Wollons, "Writing Home", 99-100.
[51] Nazan Maksudyan, "Physical Expressions of Winning Hearts and Minds: Body Politics of American Missionaries in 'Asiatic Turkey'" in *Christian Missions and*

missionaries worked to move beyond institutional curriculum and towards advancing the lives of the Armenian women and girls. This is because the sponsoring schools, especially Mount Holyoke, would teach a similar curriculum to the home university but would ensure that it was taught with the practices of the people within the villages. The curriculum was set to teach "domestic work along with their studies… not only to impart knowledge but also to shape and mold their character" since there were still aspects of mission work being for the purpose of saving souls with Christianity.[52] Although there was an educational lens of this work, it was still imperial in nature because it brought western ideas of womanhood and gender into Armenian lives. The efforts of women missionaries were important in the advancing education, since their access to higher education was increasing within the United States at this time, which allowed them to fulfill their missions. This curriculum embraced the traditional gender roles of women within the 19th century, while also encouraging the education of women, especially since women and girls were not educated to the same capacity as their male counterparts within Turkey, especially within the Armenian community. The education of women and girls was seen as a practice not feminine in nature, so another effort was to prove to Armenian men that women could receive an education and still fulfill their role as wife and mother.[53] Because of this, the ability to send American women over to the Ottoman Empire for educational efforts was crucial to the humanitarian aspects of missions.

The women missionaries in Turkey were given occupations as nurses and educators, because of the gendered expectations of work in missions.[54] Within these roles, the women worked on relief efforts along with documenting their experiences to send back to America. While missionaries were present in modern-day Turkey, the orphan population grew within the Armenian community due to massacres on the Armenian people, starting in the 1890s. The ABCFM, in their missionary work, adopted the efforts of "evangelistic work, publication, and education, philanthropy… organiz[ing] local relief measures".[55] The philanthropic ventures included

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*Humanitarianism in the Middle East, 1850-1950: Ideologies, Rhetoric, and Practices*, ed. Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Karène Sanchez Summerer, (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2020), 63.

[52] Wollons, "Writing Home", 108.

[53] Güven, *American Foreign Missions*, 48.

[54] Virigina A. Metaxas, "Ruth A. Parmelee and the Changing Role of Near East Missionaries in Early Twentieth Century Turkey" in *The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work, 1810-2010*, ed. Clifford Putney and Paul T. Burlin, (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 76.

[55] Maksudyan, "Physical Expressions", 67-8.

establishing orphanages for Armenian children after the 1890s massacres, but the documentation of attacks on the Armenians started "as early as 1878", which coincides with the first decade of the Mount Holyoke missionaries being present within the region.[56]

The growth in philanthropic relief efforts coincided with the *Tanzimat* era of reforms in the Ottoman Empire. These reforms were implemented to create a centralized form of governmental rule and be representative of the people in the Ottoman Empire. In the 1850s and 1860s, the reforms made their way to Eastern Turkey, and removed local power.[57] During this time, the Armenian nationalist groups were perceived as a threat to the Ottoman government since they could undermine the authority of the Ottoman Empire along with granting an opening for Russia to enter the Empire.[58] In the 1870s, the Russo-Ottoman War occurred and fear of losing Armenia grew, especially with increasing reform movements from the British powers as well.[59] The conflict within the region led to a rise in Armenian nationalism and the Ottoman Empire thought the best course of action was to employ the Kurds to form militias against the Armenians. The Ottoman Empire, fearing both the Kurds and Armenians, believed that empowering the Kurds would maintain control of the region. The growing conflict between the Kurds and Armenians within Anatolia was documented by missionaries sent into the region through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Bitlis and Van, two cities in the Eastern region of Turkey, were believed to be epicenters of the Armenian nationalist revolutionary ideals.[60] This meant that the concentration of Kurdish militias was within this region of Turkey to squash potential revolutions. As attacks picked up before and during the Armenian Genocide, missionaries used their educational advantage to petition for governmental protections and save the students and families from the violence of Kurdish militias.[61] The founders of the Mount Holyoke Seminary School, Charlotte, and Mary Ely, along with their fellow missionary teachers, moved beyond just education of Armenian women and towards relief. Although the women held little power within the missionary boards, they were essential in advocating for the safety and

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[56] Wollons, "Writing Home", 102.
[57] Janet Klein, *The Margins of Empire: Kurdish Militias in the Ottoman Tribal* Zone (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011), 62.
[58] Klein, *Margins of Empire*, 2-3.
[59] Ibid., 21.
[60] Ibid., 26.
[61] Wollons, "Writing Home", 110.

wellbeing of Armenians and brought about the humanitarian focus of missions. The relief efforts began before the violence against the Armenians since the missionaries were present for natural disasters, documenting their experiences with storms and earthquakes along with how they responded to the crises.

**How did Missionaries Approach Aid in the Middle East?**

Within the Middle East, especially Eastern Turkey, "there are forty-two American missionaries, occupying five stations and 114 out stations", in addition to church establishments.[62] Through these establishments, men and women were sent to Eastern Turkey for the cause of educating Armenian societies. The missionaries were sent and sponsored through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which was centrally located out of Boston, Massachusetts. The ABCFM sponsored missions across the world for American Protestants with the goal of spreading their religious ideals to other regions. For their missions in Turkey, the ABCFM published pamphlets and maps to educate missionaries and the public on their work within the Ottoman Empire, which they called Asiatic Turkey, or Anatolia. The pamphlets consist of breakdowns of the missionary history within Turkey, including when and where efforts took place. In the 1908 publication of the missionary pamphlet, the history of mission work in Turkey is split into four different periods from 1831-1907: preparation, growth and organization, advancement in education and cooperation, and persecution.[63] Despite the ABCFM defining the periods of mission history in Turkey starting in 1831, missions began in 1819 in Western Turkey.[64] This difference, in part, is due to the initial presence of the ABCFM in Turkey, versus the start of missionary work as it was known. In the preparation period, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions defined this as missionaries learning the way of life in Turkey through meeting the people, learning the language, and building schools to educate the native people, especially Armenians.[65] The era was necessary for the acquisition of knowledge for the ways of life within the mission location for the missionary. Language within American missions was a deliberate decision, since there was the shift mission work forcing the people to learn English to teaching in the vernacular language of the

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[62] Edmund Collins, "Protestant Missions", *Cosmopolitan,* March 1891, 534.
[63] "Asiatic Turkey: A Sketch of the Missions of the American Board", (Boston, Massachusetts: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1908), 13-27, http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/11176.
[64]Maksudyan, "Physical Expressions", 62.
[65] "Asiatic Turkey", 13-4.

region. This meant that missionaries were to immerse themselves within the culture they were sent to and learn the language of the people so they could translate the Bible and other religious teachings to best suit the lives of the people. It was required by the ABCFM to write and read in the language of one's mission. To do this, there would be instruction for language learning, along with evaluation within the first few years of missionary service to ensure these guidelines were followed.[66] By working with the native language, the goal was to work Christianity into the daily lives of the Armenians and their church, since it was made accessible to them instead of forcing a language and cultural removal.

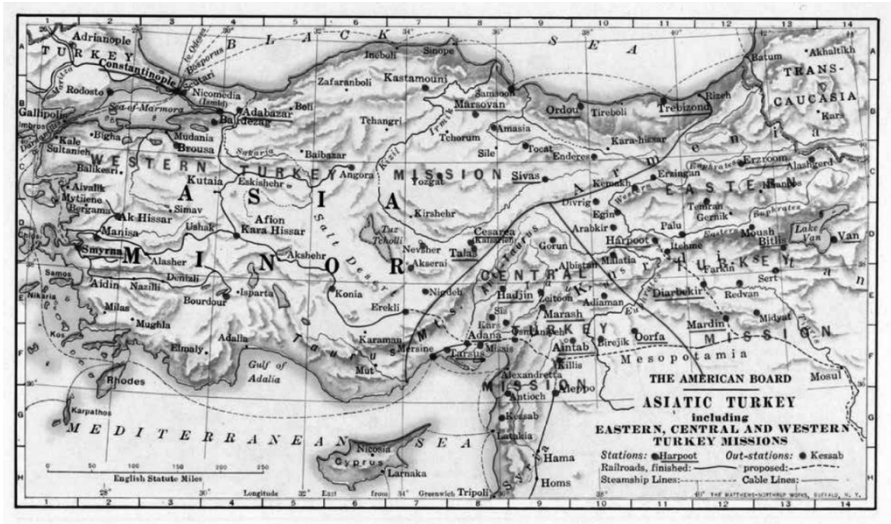


*Figure 2 1914 Map of Asia Minor from American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission "Maps of Missions" from ARIT.*

Each mission had stations in the larger cities where the missionaries would work with the Armenians for educational and housing efforts while spreading their religious beliefs. With the expansion into new regions of Turkey in the late 1850s,

[66] "Handbook for Missions and Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions", (Boston, Massachusetts: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1912), 14 http://dlir.org/archive/archive/files/aec0ad0952555bfff83f142acfcf7f47.pdf.

the missions were all under the same committees with the ABCFM, but they were meeting both with their regional mission and the Turkish operations.[67] The annual meetings for the missions were coordinated by the board and were to meet "once a year – between March and September, if possible" to discuss the work being done on the mission sites and for maintaining the support of the Board.[68] Along with this, the missionaries began to create networks between the cities, travelling and communicating between missionary stations. Because of their status as women, the missionaries not only reported to the ABCFM at the annual meetings but also created their own missionary networks amongst the women in Turkey for a support system. The missionaries at the Mount Holyoke Seminary School also attended these annual meetings and reported back to the board on the status of their work.

The Mount Holyoke Seminary School was established within the third period of Missionary History, as documented by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This period took place between the years 1866-1896 and was the period of advancing education and cooperation within the region.[69] The Female Seminary was built in the valley between mountains and the

[67] "Asiatic Turkey", 19.
[68] "Handbook for Missions", 17.
[69] "Asiatic Turkey", 23.

*Figure 3 Mt. Holyoke Seminary School, Bitlis, from the Five Colleges Compass Digital Collections*

building had rooftop access for exercise and recreation along with here were walls along the plot of the school yard.

The school being established as a Female Seminary was important for the advancement of mission work and humanitarian aid, since it provided Armenian women with an education. Within the city of Bitlis, there were boys' schools established by missionaries, so the inclusion of a Female Seminary was important to the cause of spreading Christianity and curriculum for women's education. The educational efforts of the missionaries were an extension of their personal education at the sponsoring school and brought Western ideas of education and the roles of women. Women missionaries were important to the humanitarian movement with their gendered roles as educators, since education, in its missionary expansion, improved the lives of the people and furthered the cause of spreading Protestant Christianity. In the eyes of missionary women, education opened access to newfound freedoms, since they experienced this same phenomenon in the furthering of their education, which granted them the ability to work as missionaries and travel to the Middle East. In the expansion era of Turkish missions, there were more tasks

demanded of men and women missionaries, especially in establishing their foothold in the newer regions of Turkey.[70] The initial efforts of the missions were to establish a foothold in the region and expand the self-sufficiency of churches, but establishing traditional schools and boarding schools became the goal, which shows the adoption of women's push for education within missions. Roles within missions remained gendered, especially for medical fields, with men being the physicians.[71] Women also expanded their efforts into nursing and the medical portion of mission work, which reflected the gender roles of women and the accepted professions for the time, which included nursing and teaching, with the standardization of women attending Normal schools for higher education. This is seen in the later documentation of missionary experiences during the attacks on Bitlis and the Armenian people.

The American Board established the fourth period of their mission work as the years of persecutions in Asiatic Turkey from 1896-1907. The Board documented the era starting at this time because the "massacres began in the autumn of 1895", which took place across all "Eastern and Central Turkey Missions", with the specific targets being the Armenian, with the ABCFM labeling the Armenians as martyrs for Christ.[72] These attacks were documented by the women missionaries and shared with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, not only to share the happenings of Turkey, but to advocate for help and additional aid in the region. The writings of missionaries were highly encouraged by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to share their work and the progress of the missions, but to also maintain the correspondence in case of any issues arising.[73] Although the ABCFM did not directly cite the efforts of women missionaries within the pamphlets on missionary history in Turkey, the recording of the work in the region proves that women were influential within the shaping of how aid was approached. By sharing how missions shifted as the ABCFM expanded into Turkey, the ABCFM provided the missionaries with a history on how important the religious presence of these Americans was within the region and how their work was valuable to the changing needs of the Armenians, especially with helping the communities after attacks.

[70] "Asiatic Turkey", 26.
[71] Ibid., 27.
[72] Ibid., 28.
[73] "Handbook for Missions", 21-2.

**How did the Seminary School Operate?**

The Mount Holyoke Seminary School operated on the ideals of the American university it was founded under, Mount Holyoke College, which was established as an all-girls college to further education beyond secondary school and teach the humanities, but also the roles of women. The women missionaries of the school were white, middle class, with a college education, and wanted to further their educational endeavors through mission work with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In the time of the establishment of Mount Holyoke Seminary School, women were getting higher education and there were social movements taking place within the United States with high involvement of women, despite the exclusion of women in large political decisions, like the 14th Amendment.[74] Many of the women missionaries were graduates of Mount Holyoke College back in the United States and used their higher education to work abroad in the Middle East in the efforts to spread Christianity. With their ability to earn a higher education, the missionaries wanted to share their privilege and knowledge through the work abroad. Although they wanted to share their educational privilege with women abroad, they were still subjected to gender discrimination within the hierarchy of missions.[75] The women answered to male-dominated boards, but had their smaller branches, like the Women's Board of Missions, along with establishing their own network of communication with other women missionaries.

Much that is known about the Mount Holyoke Seminary School and its operation is through the documentation of the women missionaries working as educators in Bitlis. This comes in the form of correspondence between missionaries and the American Board, Women's Board, and each other, as well as through photographs. It was important to record the missionary life to appeal for more funding, and to highlight the importance of the work being completed, especially within Asiatic Turkey. The missionaries were key in unintentionally preserving the history of the Armenians in the surrounding city of Bitlis and those in attendance at the school because of the documentation sent back to the missionary boards through reports and letters. The missionary network established by the women at the Seminary School was used to discuss the status of the school, not only on student performance, but also with funding and how it held up with the attacks on the city.

In the decades the Seminary School was housed in Bitlis, Turkey, the women missionaries worked on educating women and children through their school

[74] Wollons, "Writing Home", 98.
[75] Ibid., 95.

and the brother school for boys. These schools were established for education in addition to housing of the Armenian students, especially those who were orphaned in attacks against the Armenians. Although men were teaching at the school for boys, the initial push for education to be included within foreign missions was advocated for by women. The initial goal of establishing the school was to spread Protestant Christianity to the Armenians through the means of education, rather than conversion, but as the needs of the mission movements shifted, so did the goals of the school leaders. As the First World War came closer, the sentiments towards the Armenians grew hostile and violence increased, especially in Bitlis, so the women missionaries worked towards housing and educating the orphaned children within the city. The women were experiencing the gendered conflict of the Armenians in their initial establishment of the school and educational efforts, but also in the humanitarian work they completed themselves.

Bitlis, during the time of the Seminary School, was filled with orphans and refugees from attacks on the Armenian populations, and many were taken in by the women missionaries. The women missionaries took in the local women and girls and gave them an education that followed the curriculum of the home university, Mount Holyoke College. In an 1899 report about the orphanage and educational efforts, Mary E. Ely documented that the students found many successes in their education, along with meeting basic needs.[76] Although she discussed the successes of the school, she made a point to discuss the lack of food for children and the unsafe environment, which led to deaths of some orphans, since it would encourage better funding and resources for the mission and grant better amenities for the living students. While the school was able to provide for some people, much of the population of Bitlis struggled after the massacres in the 1890s, which led to the increasing capacity of the school. This distinction within the report is important because the missionaries worked to better the lives of the people through the relief efforts of providing food and shelter and educating the children they could take in.

Along with letters and written reports of the Mount Holyoke Seminary School, the teachers took photographs of the students in attendance and the orphans housed through the seminary. The photos correlate to the reports provided to the ABCFM because they documented the expansion of the school and how the number of students in attendance increased during the attacks on Bitlis. As documented in the orphan report, the missionary teachers were concerned about the functioning of the

[76] Charlotte E. Ely, "Report of the Bitlis Orphanage" August 19, 1899, 1, https://compass.fivecolleges.edu/object/mtholyoke:16438.

school since the orphan population was increasing, which is seen in the photographs provided. This displays the missionary teachers' focus on providing supports for the girls within the city since they lost their families in the massacres. Additionally, the photo grants insight into introducing Western ideas of womanhood to the orphan girls through the attire. Having the photos taken of the students was an intentional choice on behalf of the women missionaries because it proved successes in teaching Western femininity. The women missionaries were to report back to the sponsoring mission boards, so having photographic evidence of their efforts was essential in painting the desired image of success which encouraged further funding for missions and allowed the women to stay.

*Figure 4 Orphans at Mount Holyoke Seminary School in Bitlis, 1895-99, from the Five Colleges Compass Digital Collections.*

*Figure 5 Students at the Mount Holyoke Seminary School, 1870-1910, from the Five Colleges Compass Digital Collections.*

Relief efforts were also implemented by the women missionaries of the Mount Holyoke Seminary School, specifically in response to natural disasters. In March of 1907, Bitlis experienced an earthquake after a lengthy period of snow. The women missionaries documented this occurrence because it disrupted the normal way of life for the school. Mary Ely documented that "though regular school routine was necessarily suspended, the irregular duties in caring for our dear girls as they were gathered in the home chapel, took much of our time and diminished energies," meaning that despite the interruption of normal life, the needs of the students were prioritized in the eyes of the women missionaries.[77] Documenting the experiences

[77] Mary A.C. Ely, "Letter and pictures from Mary A.C. Ely '61 published in the "Missionary Letters" October 1907 issue, about the earthquake at Bitlis, Turkey and other

and publishing the writings was important for getting more relief aid to the school because they needed to feed, house, and educate the children after the snowstorm and earthquake that left damage to their original housing. In addition to the article, Mary attached a description written about herself and her sister, Charlotte, that stated appreciation of their efforts to further the religious cause. The two sisters were described as having "such timidity coupled with unheard bravery, such weakness coupled with more than man's strength, such dependence coupled with boldness and unusual firmness of decision," which was in comparison to gendered expectations of men and women.[78] Their efforts were acknowledged by the public as being beneficial to the spreading of Protestant Christianity while also advancing the expectations of women, since their work within the Bitlis mission was compared to being of greater strength than a man.

In 1910, Charlotte Ely wrote a letter to friends recounting a few months of her experience within the school, which consisted of her time being ill, recovering, and taking charge of the seminary schools. She was put in charge of running the boys' and girls' schools while the Reverend and head missionary leader were out for illness and travel to the mission board meetings.[79] She was required to take on additional labor, which played into the gendered expectations on women, since she was running the 'home' while the men were gone. Charlotte Ely described the expectations of the girls in attendance at the school because she stated that there was a "misconduct of one of the Boarding school girls, which cost… many an hour of effort to win her to repentance and to straighten matters out" but did not distinguish the specific "misconduct".[80] The girls of the school were expected to maintain a moral purity since they were attending a Seminary School, along with the moral expectations for women at the time. Because of her actions, the student was sent away from the school, but the missionary women allowed her to remain under their care within the city, since they felt "responsible for her welfare until she marries," which worked within the expectations of womanhood, but also encouraged protections.[81] This meant that women and girls received care from the women

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events", October 1907, 1. https://compass-stage.fivecolleges.edu/object/mtholyoke:16418?search=turkey.

[78] Ely, "Letter and Pictures", 1.

[79] Charlotte E, Ely, "Letter from Charlotte E. Ely '61 to friends; written in Bitlis, Turkey", October 4, 1910, 2. https://compass.fivecolleges.edu/object/mtholyoke:16424.

[80] Ely, "Letter from Charlotte", 2.

[81] Ibid., 3.

missionaries despite not being students at the Seminary School, since the missionaries tried to connect to the city and the Armenian people living within Bitlis.

Along with that, she oversaw graduation and preparing the school for the return of her sister, Mary Ely, and Miss. Knapp, a fellow missionary, but was not allowed to pick them up from their arrival location.[82] While the men were away, she was required to take on the role of multiple individuals within the missionary network of the school to keep up operations and was still required to stay back when greeting her fellow women missionaries. Even though she completed the work of men while they were away, Charlotte Ely was forced to stay back and continue the care of the girls of the school, which played into the gendered conflict of mission work. The women of the school were expected to take on the roles of educator while ensuring the school ran smoothly and addressing any concerns of students and men in charge.

**How did the School Experience the Genocide?**

In the 1890s, the city of Bitlis faced Ottoman-backed attacks from the Kurdish militias. The seminary school, since they housed Christian Armenian's were subject to attacks and captures, because of the Ottoman's fear of an Armenian revolution. Before then, the tensions of conflicting religions within the region were perpetuated by the Russo-Turkish War in the 1870s, which is documented by the Ely sisters through photographs.

[82] Ely, "Letter from Charlotte", 3.

*Figure 6 . Mohammedan Refugees from the Russo-Turkish War, from the Five Colleges Compass Digital Collectionss*

*Figure 7 Mohammedan Refugees from the Russo-Turkish War, from the Five Colleges Compass Digital Collections.*

The sisters documented refugees around their station in Turkey during the late 1870s who were displaced due to the fighting between the two powers. As missionaries, it was important to document experiences while abroad to highlight the events and how they were helping. The women missionaries were heavily involved within the region of Eastern Turkey while on their missions, so the aims of conversion were pushed aside to prioritize relief, since they changed with the needs of Bitlis. Educational efforts were still important to the women missionaries since they worked to spread their privilege, but the attacks on the Armenians forced a change in priorities of the women, adding relief efforts to their roles. Although these refugees are of a different faith than the Ely sisters, it was important for them to document these individuals through a photo to share the tragedies that were being faced by the civilians during the conflict, especially since their missionary work was more humanitarian in nature, running a school and orphanage to take in Armenians. The missionaries experienced the attacks of the Armenians during the Russo-Ottoman War and leading up to the First World War and documented how the city was impacted by the conflict and growing population of displaced Armenians.

In 1896, Grace H. Knapp, a missionary at the Seminary School, wrote a letter to her friend which documents the aftermath of a Kurdish attack on Bitlis. She recounts that she was not present during the attacks, having been away, but that her family and other missionaries were present. She told her friend that she felt the "intense anxiety" knowing that her family went through that, but also knowing what the Armenians were facing within the massacre as well and were "consistently imprisoned living in terror".[83] The massacres on the Armenians left many children as orphans, which increased the attendance at the Seminary School and the people under the care of the women missionaries. As the tensions were rising between the Kurdish militias and the Armenians and attacks were increasing, the women missionaries moved towards relief efforts and protection of the Armenians in Bitlis, especially the students within the school.

According to Mary D. Uline, an instructor and principal of the Mount Holyoke Seminary School, in March of 1914, a city near Bitlis experienced political conflict between the Kurds and the current rulers. According to Uline, "a great number of Kurds had gathered near a village a few hours distant from Bitlis… that these Kurds under the leadership of Said Ali Bey were coming to Bitlis to demand of the government here the restoration of the old regime", which would benefit the Kurds and, in the eyes of the missionaries, harm the Armenian people within the region.[84] However, it is important to note that within the letters, Mary Uline herself acknowledges that the news of the Kurdish movement into a surrounding city is a rumor. Despite these rumors, it was deemed important for the Armenians to protect themselves on the off chance of an attack, even though "[t]he Kurds seem to have taken pains to assure the Christians that no harm is done to them", and because of this, there is little trust of the Armenians towards the government, which is perpetuated by the concerns on national and international grounds.[85] This meant that the missionaries were utilizing their prior experience with the 1890s massacres to protect the Armenians the best they could. The Armenians could not rely upon the government for protection, especially with prior massacres on their people, so having

[83] Grace H. Knapp, "Letter and envelope from Grace H. Knapp '93 to Bertha E. Blakely '93; written in Van, Turkey", February 8, 1896, (Five Colleges Compass – Digital Collections), 6, https://compass.fivecolleges.edu/object/mtholyoke:24565.
[84] Mary D. Uline, "Letter from Mary D. Uline to friends; written in Bitlis, Turkey", March 11, 1914, (Five Colleges Compass – Digital Collections ), 1, https://compass-stage.fivecolleges.edu/object/mtholyoke:16449.
[85] Uline, "Letter from Mary March 1914", 2.

the advanced warning, even if just rumors, was beneficial, not only to the Armenians, but to the missionaries and other Westerners in power within the region.

The American missionaries of the girls' and boys' schools were asked, by the Russian Consul, to bring the children to the Russian Consulate to house them there temporarily, away from harm.[86] The entire city shut down, shops closed, and regular ways of life, even for the American missionary teachers, were interrupted while Said Ali Bey was said to be in and around Bitlis. There were moves by the teachers to send for more soldiers and weaponry to protect the people, but the Governor of Bitlis only sent "three soldiers in case of need," which displayed the mistrust of the Armenian people and the government of the region, since there was little effort to protect the citizens of the area.[87] The missionaries, both men and women, cared about the protection and wellbeing of the Armenians within Bitlis, not only on a religious level, but because they educated the people and took in orphans, as well as with living alongside the Armenians. Despite the lack of protection from the government, normal life could resume, but with continued distrust and anxiety of another attack, especially with a long history of discrimination against the Armenians.

Unfortunately, just one month after the initial letter, in April of 1914, Mary D. Uline documents a Kurdish attack on the city of Bitlis, Turkey, specifically the Mount Holyoke Seminary School, in a letter sent to a fellow missionary, Grace H. Knapp. Knapp wrote a small paragraph explaining the events that unfolded preceding her acquisition of the letters to be sent out, prefacing to the people receiving letters that Uline was all right. The remaining portions of the letter are recounts of Mary D. Uline, sharing the experience from the Seminary during the six days of the attack. Knapp's entry is not dated, but the letters by Uline are dated the first, second, third, and sixth of April in 1914. Not only were the missionaries witness to the attacks and massacres leading up to the Armenian genocide in Bitlis, but they too experienced the violence firsthand.

In her letter to friends on the first of April, Uline explained the situation going on in the city. For three weeks, the city was under martial law and "no one has been allowed on the streets after 6p.m.", since there were police and soldiers patrolling the city with the threats of the Kurds.[88] The people of Bitlis experienced

[86] Uline, "Letter from Mary March 1914", 2.
[87] Ibid., 3.
[88] Grace H. Knapp, "Letter from Grace H. Knapp '93 to Friends, Containing Copy of Letter from Mary D. Uline to Friends, Dated April 1-6, 1914, and Written in Bitlis,

terror looming over the city with the strict regulations and knowledge of an impending attack directed at the government. It is important to contextualize the situation not only to document the experiences, but as a warning to fellow missionaries on the impending attacks within the region. Because the letter was sent to more than just Knapp, the missionaries could prepare themselves for potential massacres. This was done for the safety of the foreign missionaries and the Armenian students at the missionary schools since they were under attack by the Kurdish militias. Despite the enforced restrictions under martial law, Uline was able to send the messages off to friends, which illustrates the connections between missionaries doing humanitarian work before and after the Armenian genocide in Turkey, especially since the missionaries would move between seminaries and other missionary establishments in surrounding cities.

On the following day, Uline documented the descriptions of city locations where the Kurds were shooting from, along with weapons being used and how long the shootings were taking place. She also noted the instance of the police running to the consulate across from the school for protection after the shooting on the police station. With this, Mary D. Uline notes the British government's unwillingness to be associated. This observation highlights the sentiments between the British and the Armenians, that because the British were an imperial power, they did not want to be associated with the defense of Bitlis alongside the Armenians. By writing this, Uline hinted at the conflict between American missionaries with other colonial powers and ideas of the Middle East. The American missionaries, especially the women, were working towards protecting the students at the Seminary School while the British colonial presence was not seen as helpful within the attacks. This further rationalizes the recorded sentiments of the Armenians towards the government in the March 1914 letters, where Uline acknowledges the mistrust on the Armenian's behalf from lack of protections in massacres of their people.

Leading up to the early twentieth century, Armenians faced attacks and massacres within their cities across Turkey from those supported by the Turkish government. However, after the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War, the Armenian Genocide took place across Turkey. There is little documentation of the attacks from the perspective of Armenians, but missionaries documented their relief efforts. The years of the genocide were difficult to navigate for the American missionaries because they were restricted in how they could help and if they were

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Turkey", (Five Colleges Compass – Digital Collections,) https://compass-stage.fivecolleges.edu/object/mtholyoke:16448.

permitted to stay in Turkey, since many were being sent elsewhere and missionary aid was cut from the region.

Missionaries were restricted in their ability to help the Armenian women and children during the genocide, but they continued to do everything in their power to advocate for aid, if they could not provide help themselves. This was due to the regulations of the missionary boards and ideas of gender. The women missionaries were limited in how they could help because the governing powers were men, so they had to work around the power dynamics of gender along with witnessing violence upon the women and children they worked closely with. In the case of Myrtle O. Shane, a missionary stationed in Bitlis, she worked to protect the women and children within her mission station who came for refuge.[89] She was told by the government official, asking for protection of the women since "an order had come from Constantinople that not an Armenian should remain in Bitlis", to which she responded, "'in that case I will not give them up'", and kept the women and girls at the school.[90] With her efforts, a handful of Armenians were taken in and protected from the genocidal attacks. This was difficult, however, because of the unsafe environment established by the Kurds, since women were being attacked on the streets and little protections were in place outside of the seminary school.

While the missionaries were documenting the relief aid, they were providing to the Armenians, the students at the Seminary School were documenting their experiences of the attacks. A former student from the school, Apesag H., wrote to Mary D. Uline in February of 1917, documenting how she and other students were fairing with the genocide taking place in and around Bitlis. Within her letter, she corroborates the sentiments of the Armenian people in that they would rather die than be forced to convert and become a Turk.[91] Within Grace Knapp's book, she documents that "some of the prominent citizens had provided their families with poison, which they took rather than fall into the hands of the Turks" since they knew they would be forced to give up their faith and ways of life to perpetuate the desired demographic of Turkey.[92] Apesag also corroborates Knapp's documentation, stating that "many drank poison and died so that the Turks should not take them, or they

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[89] Grace H. Knapp, *The Tragedy of Bitlis*, (New York, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1919), PDF, 60, https://www.loc.gov/item/19016279/.
[90] Knapp, *The Tragedy of Bitlis*, 60-1.
[91] Apesag H., "Copy of letter from Apesag H. to Miss Uline (Mary D. Uline); written in Erzerum, Turkey", February 1917, (Five Colleges Compass – Digital Collections), 5, https://compass.fivecolleges.edu/object/mtholyoke:16447.
[92] Knapp, *The Tragedy of Bitlis*, 68.

should not become Moslems. But we knew drinking poison was self-slaughter, therefore we awaited the hands of the Turks or Kurds which would tear us in pieces, as they did our loved ones," since they were holding strong to their faith and wanted to die on their terms, rather than leaving themselves to the hands of their attackers.[93] Because there is little documentation from the Armenian perspective, this letter saved in the collection of the Mount Holyoke Seminary School is important for understanding the truth of the missionaries and their stories of the genocide and attacks that took place within Bitlis. The women, if married and converted, could be saved from the genocide, but cultures were still lost in those instances. Through this letter, it is seen that the missionary teachers worked endlessly to continue their efforts to protect the students and the people of Bitlis through the attacks. The women missionaries were present in Bitlis for the Russo-Ottoman War and up to the Near East Relief following the Armenian Genocide, so they experienced decades of massacres and attacks upon the Armenians. These massacres caused a change in priorities for the missionaries, where the women focused on providing relief in forms of food, shelter, and education for Armenian living in Bitlis, rather than solely focusing on education to convert. The women missionaries in Turkey were key in the rise of humanitarianism throughout the Middle East.

**Conclusion**

In the decades of the Mount Holyoke Seminary School's presence in Bitlis, the women missionaries worked towards adopting modern humanitarianism into missions. Women brought the traditional Western ideas of femininity and womanhood into the Middle East through their missionary efforts, especially being the roles of nurses and teachers. Moving beyond initial educational and conversion efforts allowed for the spread of humanitarianism within the Middle East. Women missionaries were essential in this adoption of practices because they advocated for the betterment of the Armenian people within Bitlis since they witnessed decades of massacres and attacks. Women experienced the prejudice of gender throughout their time as missionaries because of the regulations of missionary boards but worked to create spaces for themselves and advocate for the rights and freedoms of Armenians while providing safety. Initially, the women's goal was to convert from Gregorian and Orthodox Christianity to Protestant Christianity, but as the tensions between the Kurdish militias and the Armenians grew, the efforts of the women were to provide and advocate for safety precautions and housing of Armenians.

[93] Apesag H., "Letter to Miss Uline", 1.

# The "Losers" of Unification: The Shift in American Media Discourse on East German Women Post-Unification

*By Abby Hanlon*

Like most Americans in 1989, Louise Davidson was anxious about traveling to the German Democratic Republic (GDR), also known as East Germany, for her study abroad experience. Davidson's anxiety did not stem from her inability to speak German or about traveling beyond the Iron Curtain. Rather, she worried about whether she and her roommate would become friends. The root of her concerns came from the fact that her roommate was a communist. Most of Davidson's perceptions about the GDR came from American media that characterized East Germany's communist system as repressive, lacking many liberties she was used to in the United States. Upon her arrival in East Germany, Davidson not only became close friends with her communist roommate, but she also discovered that East German women had benefits that American and West German had not acquired. Davidson realized reunification could have harsh consequences for East German women with the disappearance of their previous freedoms. She awakened to the perks of certain socialist policies from the GDR, just to watch them swept away in the coming years.[1]

Louise Davidson's experience captures the ideological conflict between democracy and communism during the Cold War. American reporting on the German Democratic Republic under Soviet influence and the Federal Republic of Germany, also known as West Germany, with ties to Western countries like the United States, created different perceptions surrounding life in each country. During the division of Germany, East Germany's workforce included both men and women as a requirement, while West Germany's laborers consisted mostly of men, leaving women's traditional role as homemakers. While each country's economic system was vastly different, both were patriarchal, with several issues that women faced. While East Germany could be characterized as a more progressive state in terms of women's issues than West Germany, women lacked ways for meaningful political participation to define their interests. This is due to the lack of a public sphere in the authoritarian party-state. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the expansion of the public sphere was used by feminists to express their demands. These structural differences in women's issues created differences among German women, especially

[1] Louise K Davidson, "Women in East Germany Today," *Off Our Backs* 20*,* no. 7 (1990): 8. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20833082.

with East German women achieving greater equality in the labor market before unification.[2]

Towards the end of the 1980s, the Soviet Union's power began to dwindle across Eastern Europe. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany shocked much of the world. The process of German reunification meant complicated negotiations between East and West Germany to determine the direction of the new state. The monetary union and the speed of unification dominated questions regarding the union of East and West Germany. Corruption and abuse of power by the communist party and fear of the complete economic collapse of the GDR prompted immediate discussions about the merger. Thus, the first stage of unification resulted in a treaty that transferred the West German economic system to East Germany. This transformed employment structures, opening the GDR's economy to competition it was not prepared for, and increasing unemployment. The speed of unification was largely criticized in both parts of Germany, with East German women facing the blunt realities of the economic and social consequences.[3]

The effect of unification on marginalized groups was a popular topic for scholars in the 1990s and 2000s. In *Triumph of the Fatherland: German Unification and the Marginalization of Women*, Brigette Young contends that the immediate results of unification for women lie greatly in West and East German women's inability to create a cohesive feminist agenda. The concept of feminism had different definitions for East and West German women. West German feminist movements followed general trends from other Western industrialized countries, like the United States, with a focus on human rights, the equality of women in the labor market, and the protection and advancement of social welfare programs. In the East, women political activists saw the state as the main adversary, not men. Many activists

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[2] Rachel A. Rosenfeld, Heike Trappe, and Janet C. Gornick, "Gender and Work in Germany: Before and After Reunification," *Annual Review of Sociology* 30, (February 2004): 103, https://www.proquest.com/docview/199576334/46D2CB29832C4C43PQ/3?accountid=11578&parentSessionId=8aCY61ol1B7xn5Mrh1Rgg%2FWGh3PjB05AODgCBzE%2BNGU%3D; Nanette Funk, "Feminism Meets Post-Communism: The Case of the United Germany," in *Feminist Nightmares: Women At Odds: Feminism and the Problems of Sisterhood,* eds. Susan Ostrov Weisser and Jennifer Fleischner, (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 310 – 327.

[3] Rosenfeld, "Gender and Work in Germany," 104; Peter Barker, "Unification," in *Encyclopedia of Contemporary German Culture,* ed. John Sandford, (New York: Routledge, 1999), 613 – 615.

believed that feminism was too restrictive and isolated to create change. Young identifies that the main causes of the marginalization of feminists during unification were the failure of East and West German women's movements to unite under a cohesive framework and the exclusionary mechanisms in West German state structures. The new Western system inhibited East German feminists' rise in political power during the collapse of the GDR system.[4]

Additionally, different women's groups like the Independent Women's League, the West German autonomous feminist movement, and institutionalized feminists failed to unite under a common organization to challenge the lack of women's involvement in unification. Autonomous feminists rejected male control and dominance, which included the established political institutions that already existed in the West German system. Institutional feminists pursued the eradication of gender discrimination through these established institutions, and the Independent Women's League called for cooperation with men in the traditional political arena. Young focuses on the role of national identity in the distinctions among women that made women the "losers" of unification.[5]

Further scholarship analyzes the timing of feminist mobilization in East Germany and the political setting's role in the lack of Eastern representation during the unification process. Myra Marx Ferree explains in "'The Time of Chaos Was the Best' Feminist Mobilization and Demobilization in East Germany," that East German feminism went through three stages in less than five years: emergence, active mobilization, and demobilization. The ways East German women negotiated and mobilized drastically shifted during unification with the state's shift to democracy. Like Young, Ferree explains that East German feminism incorporated men in their initial mobilization due to their target being the state and their emphasis on gender equality. Entering unification, East Germans were disadvantaged by their lack of political connections and experience in the West German system. GDR women struggled to find a collective identity with West German women due to disagreements regarding reproductive rights and employment practices. Women from East Germany grew up in a state with a guaranteed right to work and abortion, whereas West German women were still fighting for those liberties in a completely different system. West German women demanded more part-time employment and

[4] Young, *Triumph of the Fatherland,* 45 – 46; 84; 148; 218 – 219.
[5] Brigitte Young, *Triumph of the Fatherland: German Unification and the Marginalization of Women* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 6 – 9; 26 – 27; 45 – 46; 84; 148; 218 – 219.

the reintegration of women into the labor force after giving birth. However, this was irrelevant to many East German women who had already raised children and had full-time jobs. Scholars who have examined East and West German women assert that feminists failed to unite and gain influential voices during unification.[6]

Not only do scholars agree on why women were largely left out of the conversation during unification, but they also maintain that East German women felt the most impact from new policies. In *Women in Contemporary Germany: Life, Work and Politics*, Eva Kolinsky argues that ex-GDR women were affected by unemployment, government aid, and poverty more than any other group. GDR policies promised equal rights for men and women, as every citizen had the right and duty to work. Legislation in East Germany aimed at making it easier for women to work, with policies like paid parental leave and provisions for childcare. These policies did not match the structure of the West German system and were changed with the merger. Like Young and Ferree, Kolinsky also identifies the major impact the different economic and political systems had on women during and after unification. Most frequently, scholars examined the effects of social welfare programs to characterize the status of women after unification. Collectively, East German women are deemed the "losers" of unification when compared to West German women due to changes in employment, reproductive rights, and family support services.[7]

The scholarship on the effects of unification on East German women is extensive. However, there are gaps in research regarding the American public's view of the effects of unification on women. International perspectives like this are important in the discussion of unification to understand how global relationships affected the process. In the context of the Cold War, ideological battles between communism and democracy in the East and West were highly concentrated in Germany. Unification posed a whole new set of questions for the world with the fall of communism, specifically in the United States, as Germany functioned as a major influence on the rest of Eastern Europe. Kristina Spohr examines international perspectives during unification and affirms that this union occurred at a unique point in time for Eastern Europe in "German Unification: Between Official History,

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[6] Myra Marx Ferree, "'The Time of Chaos Was the Best' Feminist Mobilization and Demobilization in East Germany," *Gender and Society* 8, no. 4 (1994): 597–600; 611 – 615, http://www.jstor.org/stable/189820.

[7] Eva Kolinsky, *Women in Contemporary Germany: Life, Work and Politics* (Providence: Berg Publishers, 1993), 5 – 6; 259 – 263; 279; Ferree, "'The Time of Chaos Was the Best,'" 597–600; Young, *Triumph of the Fatherland*, 6 – 9; 45 – 46.

Academic Scholarship, and Political Memoirs." While scholarship like that of Kolinsky, Ferree, and Young centers on the domestic aspects of German unification, Spohr explains that the gravity of unification was felt around the world due to the end of the Cold War. Concerns regarding a reunified Germany haunted many European countries still conscious of World War II. This examination points out that the exclusion of women in much of the unification process was not solely related to sexist biases or failed coalitions, but to international pressures that dominated political discussions. Not only did German leaders feel pressure from their citizens to ensure a successful union, but they also felt pressure from world powers.[8]

While scholarship is sparse regarding American perceptions of the consequences of German unification for women, scholars have studied the interplay between American feminists and both East and West German feminists. One study that examines the interplay of American feminists and East German feminists focuses on the 1970s. In "The American Feminist Reception of GDR Literature (With a Glance at West Germany)," Angelika Bammer examines a new field of scholarly inquiry in the U.S. surrounding the German Democratic Republic. Bammer describes literary exchanges between East German feminists and American feminists. She demonstrates that American feminist agendas remained unaltered by East German feminist writings. This discourse presents a lack of cohesiveness between Western and Eastern notions of feminism. It presents an interesting query as to how this relationship played out during unification. In the 1970s, American feminists remained unaffected by East German feminist ideas, but did they react to unification policies that disadvantaged East German women? While there is plenty of scholarship that compares different forms of feminism, there is a gap in research related to American reporting of unification and its effect on women. When considering experiences like that of Lousie Davidson, those reactions exist, but an in-depth analysis of these reactions remained absent from the conversation.[9]

The research conducted by many of the previous scholars originated from an examination of German primary sources. With a focus on German feminism, interviews with German women and feminist pamphlets provide extensive information on the views and actions of these groups. As discussed, the sources were examined with a focus on internal feminist movements and their role before, during,

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[8] Kristina Spohr, "German Unification: Between Official History, Academic Scholarship, and Political Memoirs," *The Historical Journal* 4, no. 3 (2000) 869–875. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3020982.

[9] Angelika Bammer, "The American Feminist Reception of GDR Literature (With a Glance at West Germany)," *GDR Bulletin 16,* no. 2 (1990): 18.

and after unification. German newspapers, formal German feminist statements, and German writings informed the findings that focused on animosity between East and West German feminists. The organization of feminist groups and their specific politics, feminist vs. women's, opens the door for more questions. While the definition and agendas of feminism for these groups are not contested, it is intriguing to think about how other countries viewed their steps during unification and the aftermath of a united Germany. Davidson's perceptions of East Germany from American media contradict her experiences abroad, generating an interesting discussion about the perceptions Americans held during unification due to popular media coverage. How did the American media report on unification in relation to the consequences for women? How did this reflect the general concerns of the American people during a significant moment in European affairs? How did the knowledge of women's lives after unification affect conceptions of socialist policies?

In the examination of an event as complex as German unification, American newspapers and articles must be considered to understand the larger picture. The United States' role in the Cold War indicates that the reaction to unification is essential to grasp the gravity of the situation, not only for German women experiencing the transition but also for Americans who awaited the end of the decades-long ideological clash. In scholarship, there remains a gap regarding the ways American media reported on German unification and its effect on German women. The scholarship mentioned above provides historiographical consensus on the effects of unification, but it lacks an understanding of how American perceptions changed as East German women's lives changed. Special attention to the reactions to changing laws and policies regarding reproductive rights and employment provides a window into the American consciousness at this time and how their perceptions of socialist policies may have wavered upon closer examination. Examination of newspaper articles spanning from the *New York Times* to the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Chicago Tribune* provides insight into the issues that the American public cared most about. They also provide a look into the reporters themselves and how they changed their coverage surrounding unification. How did their writing change as the years went on? Louise Davidson's recollection of American reporting on East Germany indicates negative connotations regarding socialist policies.

A look into American media and feminist reports indicates a wide understanding that East German women were the "losers" of unification at the time. While this was understood among the American public, it was not a top priority. Americans were mostly focused on the economics of unification and the possibility of a strong Germany. However, reporters demonstrated a clear shift in tone only a

year or two after unification, with discourse detailing the shortcomings of West Germany's economic system and the positives of old GDR socialist policies that directly affected women. Reporting on German unification changed drastically as the disappearance of socialist policies transformed the status of East German women. This is clear from the inspection of articles from popular newspapers between 1989 – 1990, that detail concerns about a powerful, unified Germany and possible roadblocks during negotiations. Then, reports surrounding the German abortion law and the economic status of East German women demonstrate a shift in tone regarding socialist policies. The study concludes with a comparative discourse surrounding ex-GDR programs between feminist writings and news articles after 1991.

During the initial years of unification, American newspaper reporting centered on the trajectory of the unified German state, with women's issues absent from mainstream conversations. These concerns were reflected in articles that discussed the fear of a powerful Germany. Ray Moseley, a reporter on the international staff of the *Chicago Tribune,* wrote several articles during unification. A deeper examination of his work indicates the primary concerns of not only reporters but most Americans. Moseley wrote a three-part series surrounding global changes with the dissolution of communism. One article in the series specifically focused on Germany and what unification meant for the fate of Europe. Major issues involved fear of a strong German state, with the memory of World War II looming. Specifically, Moseley indicates that Germany's proximity to Western and Eastern countries raised many concerns for Americans, who feared Germany would become militarist and aggressive again. In the article, Moseley detailed American nightmares surrounding their influence on the continent and the possibility of Germany no longer aligning with Western powers. These issues overshadowed women's issues during unification in reporting. The forefront of American concerns lay with the economic and military logistics of a unified Germany. Once negotiations began, reports reflected anxieties surrounding a peaceful transformation of East Germany into West Germany's system.[10]

The *Chicago Tribune* was not the only newspaper to report on unification with these concerns. The *Christian Science Monitor,* a nonprofit news organization rooted in Boston, covered unification extensively. The publications are produced by The Christian Science Publishing Society with revenue from subscriptions, an

[10] Ray Moseley, "Germany is Key to Future of Europe Series: A World of Change. Third in a Series on Global Changes as Communism Dissolves," *Chicago Tribune,* Dec 26, 1989, 1.

endowment fund, profits from the Publishing Society, and donations. The newspaper describes its values as a balanced effort between extreme views with an emphasis on compassion in their reporting. The paper covers a variety of topics from rural America and their community to immigration stories and violence in Ukraine and Gaza. The newspaper works to give a fair and balanced reporting of events throughout the world. One article discussed the winners and losers of the Cold War, explicitly referencing Germany as the biggest winner due to its prominent role in world affairs. Like Moseley's depiction, the article noted that Germany would play a pivotal role in the end of the Cold War's ideological conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. The status of Germany after unification was such a large concern that even smaller papers, like the *Christian Science Monitor*, detailed these events. Issues like the movement of American troops out of Germany and the general question of German alignment flooded articles like this one from the *Christian Science Monitor*. The discussion of women's rights and the consequences of German unification was not a major concern for the media and the American public due to questions related to the future of Europe after Germany's unification. However, just because the effects on women were not "popular" news does not mean these discussions were not present in the media.[11]

Conversations surrounding the abortion law were widely discussed in American newspapers. However, these reports focused on the logistics of the law in the negotiation process rather than its effect on women, specifically East German women. An analysis of these articles shows that reporters did not attempt to sway public opinion one way or the other. Reporters of these articles focused simply on the facts and how debates on the future of the law hindered the prospects for unification. Ray Moseley comes up again in the discussion due to his consistent reporting about unification and the numerous articles he wrote about women's issues. Despite this, only one article exists in relation to women and German unification, which discussed debates on the abortion law. It is important to note that he wrote about women's issues within a year or two of German unification because it demonstrates that he had a clear interest in these types of articles. This indicates that women's issues about Germany, specifically the abortion law, were not a top priority for American readers. Moseley identified the fear that Americans and the government felt at the prospect of a unified Germany. So, the lack of coverage of East German women and the

[11] *Christian Science Monitor,* "Germany's Role as a Gracious Victor," August 1, 1990, 18, https://www.proquest.com/docview/291177719/C30C2B52C1CC4B7FPQ/19?accountid=11578.

consequences of policy changes, like the abortion law, display a lack of interest from the public rather than a shift in interest from the author.[12]

In 1990, Ray Moseley wrote an article that detailed the abortion law as a block to Germany's unity. Moseley explained that the law threatened unity as East Germany demanded a more liberal version of the law once the countries merged. Moseley maintained a factual tone that explained how a liberal abortion law had no chance of remaining in place after unification. Surveys within the article indicated that Protestant and atheist populations in East Germany wanted to retain the liberal law, while the high Catholic population in West Germany remained divided. Among some of the concerns mentioned in the article was the suspicion that East Germany would become an abortion mill and that the already low birth rates in Germany would continue to decrease. Specifically, Moseley did not attempt to persuade the audience as to which side was "better." The information in the article specified abortion as a key issue for Americans as well as a key component of unification. However, the absence of discourse regarding how this law directly affected East German women shows the lack of interest Americans had in women's issues related to German unification. Newspapers required a focus on the negotiations of unification, and abortion entered this conversation due to its capability of creating large issues for the union.[13]

Ray Moseley was not the only consistent commentator on German unification. An article by Ferdinand Protzman in the *New York Times* focused on the partisan battles over the abortion law during unification rather than the law's effect on East German women. The author only has two articles related to the abortion law in Germany during unification, and both articles discussed abortion in the context of dialogue between East and West Germany. Ferdinand Protzman's reporting provides important evidence for the shift in tone regarding the coverage of German unification. The focus of his articles in 1990 was largely on coalitions and the progress of German unification. He focused on the currency union and the economic discussions surrounding the union between the two countries. Protzman discussed the organization of the Communist Party, the migration of people from East Germany to

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[12] Ray Moseley, "Conference Hears of Horrors Against Women," *Chicago Tribune,* June 17, 1993, N6; Ray Moseley, "Germany is Key to Future of Europe Series: A World of Change. Third in a Series on Global Changes as Communism Dissolves," *Chicago Tribune,* December 26, 1989, 1; Ray Mosely, "Vision of Liberation: Women Gain as UN Forum Attends to their Issues," *Chicago Tribune,* June 27, 1993, C1.

[13] Ray Moseley, "Unity Threatens East Germany's Liberal Abortion Law," *Chicago Tribune,* July 25, 1990, D5.

West Germany, and the state of the economy in unified Germany, with a focus on East Germany's collapsing economy. An examination of his reporting shows a large chunk of his writing occurred in January of 1990. This indicates the public's interest in the economic aspect of unification. It was not until after the finalization of unification that the consequences of policies came to light. Protzman's reporting in the *New York Times* was indicative of American concerns, or rather, the lack thereof.[14]

Protzman identified that members of the Roman Catholic Christian Democratic Union from West Germany became advocates for a more liberal abortion law. The report opens with a discussion of West German officials moving quickly to find a resolution to the partisan battles regarding the abortion law. Protzman identified abortion as the focal point of the treaty dispute. In this case, it is important to note that the article centers on the orchestration of unification, not the consequences of the law on East German women. The article's placement on the ninth page indicates a general concern from the public about the state of unification and the abortion disputes. Protzman went on to criticize the chancellor of West Germany, Helmut Kohl, regarding his miscalculations during the unification process with East Germany's insistence on a liberal abortion law. The one mention of consequences for women stems from two sentences and discussed the possible punishment for West German women if they were to travel to East Germany for an abortion. The drastic change in a new abortion law and its ramifications for East German women are absent from the article. Reporting like this was a common characteristic of media coverage of unification. While reporting surrounding unification focused primarily on economic concerns and addressed the fears of Americans, a newly unified Germany displayed issues with certain policies regarding women. With this, the discourse in American newspapers surrounding unification began to address the consequences of unification policies. Specifically, reporters identified beneficial socialist policies from the old GDR that disappeared under the West German system.[15]

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[14] Ferdinand Protzman, "In Fast-Changing East Germany, The Economy is Stuck in Neutral," *New York Times,* January 29, 1990, D4; Ferdinand Protzman, "East German Coalition is Pulling Apart," *New York Times,* January 1990, A15; Ferdinand Protzman, "U.S. Avoids Germany's Ground Floor: Americans Avoid Germany's Ground Floor," *New York Times,* June 11, 1990, D1.

[15] Ferdinand Protzman, "Abortion Shifting Germany Alliances: Kohl's Partners Siding with His Foes on Reconciling the 2 Nations' Laws," *New York Times,* August 26, 1990,

This shift was directly related to issues of unemployment and welfare benefits for East German women. Ferdinand Protzman displays this clearly with a comparison of his articles in 1990 to his articles in 1993. In one article, Protzman's writing shifts drastically with his discussion on the "glass ceiling" for women in Germany. Unlike his report on the abortion law, Protzman specifically discussed the repercussions of absent socialist policies for working East German women. Protzman described the obstacles women faced because of corporate culture. In the article, he elaborated on a new law meant to protect employees from sexual harassment in the workplace. East German women pressured the government to enact this law because they were used to sufficient, affordable daycare and middle management opportunities under the communist system. Protzman's reporting suggests a shift in tone compared to his earlier writings, with the contention that unification changed the trajectory for East German women for the worse. He argued that the social system after unification promoted motherhood rather than careers for women and did not support working women. The author asserted that Germany's policy, which allowed women to take up to three years of partially paid maternity leave with child-support payments from the state, hurt women compared to East Germany's old policy. Employees were reluctant to hire women who were of childbearing age as a result. The lack of daycare and limited shopping hours further his discussion. Protzman demonstrates a clear shift in reporting with the recognition that some socialist policies before unification benefited women more. Additionally, this coverage has women's issues at the center, with a deep dive into the consequences of unification policies.[16]

Within the same article, Protzman discussed the effects of restricting after unification. The article details that there were more women in mid-level management positions before unification and that East German women were the first ones laid off when companies restructured. Protzman did not shy away from women's issues in this article with commentary on unequal pay and the "glass ceiling" for women in the department head position. Protzman's comparison of German women in the workforce to American women suggests a shift in his reporting with an appeal to a specific audience. Unlike his article on the abortion law in Germany, Protzman mentioned the United States to draw attention from women to the issues at hand. He

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9; "Helmut Kohl," Britannica, last modified September 29, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Helmut-Kohl.

[16] Ferdinand Protzman, "In Germany, the Ceiling's Not Glass, It's Concrete: A Proposed Law Might Make It Easier for Women to Break Through," *New York Times,* October 17, 1993, F1.

claimed that professional American women were shocked by the scarcity of women in management in Germany. In the article, multiple women interviewed expressing different opinions surrounding the actions taken by the state. While there is a noticeable shift from Protzman in his discourse surrounding unification policies, the placement of the article on page F1 illustrates a lack of concern from the public on this issue. Compared to popular conceptions of communism during the Cold War, there is a change in reporting regarding socialist policies related to women's issues after unification.[17]

Protzman was not the only reporter to exhibit this trend after unification. Stephen Kinzer demonstrated a significant change in reporting for the *New York Times* in 1993 about the consequences of abortion law negotiations during the unification process. The author covered revolutions in Central America and Eastern and Central Europe in the Soviet bloc as the *New York Times* chief in Istanbul. This article included interviews from different perspectives on the issue, one being a group of feminists who called the abortion restrictions violent against women, and the other being Catholics who claimed stricter laws restored humanity according to their religious beliefs. The law in question stated that abortions were legal in the first three months of pregnancy. There were exceptions if women received counseling in attempts to dissuade them while a new law was being put in place. However, this was ruled unconstitutional due to the provision under Germany's Basic Law that requires Germany to protect human life. Like Protzman, Kinzer compared the severity of abortion in the United States to Germany. The article's placement on the front page indicates that the topic of the article was popular among the American public.[18]

Compared to initial concerns about unification, the public focused largely on abortion as an issue for women, not just a block for negotiation. The author explained that the ruling would have a major effect on lower-income women, specifically those unemployed after unification. This commentary was drastically different from coverage of abortion during unification negotiations. Rather than solely focusing on the logistics of the verdict and the law itself, Kinzer discussed the effect of the change on women directly. There is a noticeable shift in articles published in the *New York Times*, with new concerns regarding unification. No longer were reporters and the public focused on a militarized Germany. Now the concerns focused on the state

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[17] Protzman, "In Germany, the Ceiling's Not Glass, It's Concrete."
[18] "Stephen Kinzer," Wikipedia, last modified November 2023, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stephen_Kinzer; Stephen Kinzer, "German Court Restricts Abortion, Angering Feminists and the East: Abortion Limited by German Court," *New York Times,* May 29, 1993, 1.

of women after the union and unfair representation. The shift in American media reports discussed inequities for East German women in social and economic situations.[19]

The shift in reporting was cohesive across most newspapers. The *Christian Science Monitor* detailed sex discrimination in the job market, abortion, increased violence against women, and healthcare cutbacks. The article made distinctions between the ways of life East German women were accustomed to and how unification disproportionately affected them. Like Protzman and Kinzer's articles, the *Christian Science Monitor* argued that some socialist policies under the GDR would have been beneficial for the newly unified Germany. The article claimed that egalitarianism was not the only driving force behind the full employment of East German women in the GDR. However, women went through harsh realities after unification. The comparisons of communist and market economies in the article present an interesting take on how attitudes among Americans shifted regarding the two ideologies following the end of the Cold War. The status of East German women after unification brought to light the miscalculations of leaders during the unification process. Three years after unification, a clear criticism of the market economy in Germany was unheard of in popular newspapers due to higher concerns regarding Germany's allegiance to Western values.[20]

The status of East German women a few years after unification showed a distinct shift in the way mainstream newspapers covered socialist policies. While it took popular newspapers a few years to catch up, early feminist writings foreshadowed the consequences of German unification and the mainstream perception of its effect on East German women. While the benefits of some socialist policies were discovered later in newspapers, American feminists had been critical of unification and the media's depiction of these policies for a while. Nancy Folbre, a feminist economist and professor of economics, and Lynn Duggan, a professor of labor and gender studies, commented on the state of unified Germany in the *New York Times*. While this article was published in 1994, Duggan was writing a book on German family policy, and Folbre already had one published that discussed gender structures and their constraints. The research and argument presented in the article

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[19] Kinzer, "German Court Restricts Abortion, Angering Feminists and the East: Abortion Limited by German Court," 1.

[20] *Christian Science Monitor,* "Lesser Role for Women in Reunified Germany: Women in Today's Germany," April 28, 1993. https://www.proquest.com/docview/291213067/6866ABFB20CF46C2PQ/1?accountid=11578.

had been formulated for years at this point. So, the ideas put forward by Duggan and Folbre were not a considerably recent discovery but rather a culmination of research that took place years prior. While this seemed on trend with the shift in discourse that other reporters started to reflect, American feminists were already writing and aware of the issues that women were facing. It is important to note that the article was placed below the fold on page twenty-three, showing a lack of concern from the general public.[21]

The discussion regarding the positives of certain socialist policies was clear for feminists facing these issues. Duggan and Folbre argued that East Germany's system had better policies for women than the West's system. First, the authors discussed state support that faded in unified Germany for working parents, like accessible childcare and maternity leave. The author then transitioned to the shortcomings of factory and professional jobs for East German women, as they mainly went to women from the West. Duggan and Folbre explained that while East Germany was not a paradise, the social support for women was exceptional. Furthermore, the authors criticized the American media for their characterization of East German policies as repressive. This discourse surrounding socialist policies and the criticisms of the West German system did not fit the concerns of the public at the time as indicated by the popular headlining news. A take seemingly pro-socialist was not the common thought in the United States at the time due to America winning the Cold War and "defeating" communism. Duggan and Folbre called for a merger of both communism and capitalism, specifically calling out the weaknesses of the free market in their envisioned Germany. Feminist writings like this are reflective of American news reports after unification's consequences became more apparent to the public, indicating a shift in popular discourse surrounding socialist policies from East Germany. While these ideas were present early on, the public's attention never fixated on these issues enough to garner front-page coverage.[22]

To come full circle, Louise Davidson's experience abroad provides a clear comparison between feminist writings and popular media coverage. The coverage Davidson saw regarding East Germany before her experience abroad foreshadowed the style of reporting Americans would face during unification. Concerns surrounding militarism and economic structures overshadowed the truth about policy

[21] Lynn Duggan and Nancy Folbre, "Women and Children Last: The Old East Germany Did It Better," *New York Times,* January 8, 1994, 23.
[22] Duggan and Folbre, "Women and Children Last: The Old East Germany Did It Better," 23.

changes. Once Davidson became aware of the positive benefits of socialist policies, like East Germany's abortion and childcare systems, her perspective on the country changed completely. She criticized the lack of reproductive rights in West Germany and the pro-life movement in the United States. Davidson stood up for East German women faced with unification, claiming that female workers and college students would be hit the hardest by the system's transformation. She appealed to American women, comparing their values with the realities of East German women that were threatened without communist rule. Davidson called for U.S. and West German women to stand up and demand parts of the GDR's system to be incorporated in the newly unified Germany.[23]

Like the news coverage Americans would see during unification, Davidson faced media bias that focused on certain aspects of the GDR more than others. In her case, the popular characterization of East Germany among Americans failed to recognize the benefits of certain socialist policies for women. During unification, America faced a similar reporting style that failed to grasp the weight of Germany's situation. However, discoveries Americans found regarding unification policies were worse than Davidson's. Prior to actual unification, Davidson predicted the consequences of Western policies on East German women. Feminist writings like this, not only predicted the future for East German women, but they led the way for popular newspapers to catch up to these issues. Once unification was finalized, Americans could not ignore the demoted status of East German women. However, unlike these feminist writings, newspapers hardly called for action from Americans to fix these problems and the issues themselves were not a priority.[24]

American media and feminist reports indicate a general understanding that East German women were the "losers" of unification. Americans were mainly concerned about the prospects of a new, unified Germany and what that would mean for the future of Europe. The memory of World War II still haunted many, and reporters reflected those concerns with articles focused on the logistics of unification. However, a closer examination of news articles published a year or two after unification demonstrates a shift in reporting about the stripping of socialist policies. Details of the West German economic system created conversations in mainstream papers regarding the status of women and the faults of German unification policy.

The research presented provides insight into several factors people face today. German unification was not that long ago. Delving into the impact of this

[23] Davidson, "Women in East Germany Today," 8.
[24] Ibid., 8.

significant event is crucial to understanding the transformations women faced during this process. The reunification of Germany in 1990 marked a political milestone after the wild changes Europe went through during the 20th century. The collapse of the GDR shifted the labor market, social policies, and the economic landscape that many working women were used to and relied on. The women affected by these policy changes still feel the effects of unification to this day. An examination of unification's consequences for East German women addresses inequalities that emerged and continue to play a role in women's lives. An analysis of unification acknowledges the diverse experiences of Germans during this period and provides of foundation for informed discussion in the future related to gender equality. Without insight into the results of unification, good policies, like the ones discussed above, would remain negative in historical discourse. Historically, women have been overshadowed in research and reporting. Closer examinations of events as important as German unification could set the world on a better path forward to consider marginalized groups in policy decisions.

American reports and perceptions regarding significant events are incredibly valuable for the study of history. Not only does this focus provide an understanding of the zeitgeist and concerns for the period, but it also allows people to think critically about the media they interact with today. Further examination of American reporting details the geopolitical interests of the period, which have influenced the position the United States is in today. Media narratives play a powerful role in American perceptions of foreign events. Davidson exemplified this reality with her shock once she discovered the reality of East Germany for herself. The way the public pictures important events is crucial for governments around the world when creating their narrative that puts certain players into specific roles. How events are reported consistently changes as time goes on. In the era of the internet, it is easy for people to check their sources or locate another perspective. However, most of human history lacked that ability, and the information they received stemmed from a few media outlets. Newspapers held serious value for information on global and national events. Moving forward, it is essential to be critical of current events as biases and national interests may overshadow important information that affects a large group of people.

# Stained Glass Window to the West: St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod, 1050-1300

*By Bradley Harris*

St. Sophia's cathedral in Novgorod, an icon of Divine Wisdom, is a grand reminder of the Orthodox presence in Medieval Russia. Much has been written on the iconography and structure of the cathedral and its relation to the Divine Wisdom, dating as far back as the fifteenth century.[1] However, the cathedral has rarely been studied within the broader context of understanding Novgorod as something particularly "Eastern" or "Western." The Kievan Rus' is largely contextualized within an Orientalist framework. The same is true of the city-state Novgorod, even when the city largely existed on the margins of Medieval Russia. This patronizing framework characterizes Western cities as forward, modern, and civilized. The art and architecture of St. Sophia's Cathedral pushes back against the notion of Eastern backwardness. Moreover, the medieval city-state of Novgorod shared many of the same characteristics associated with cities in the West; and recent scholarship on St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod has better defined the relationship between St. Sophia's Cathedral and the people of Novgorod. And yet, Western cities, especially Italian communes, dominate the literature on medieval city-states. The fact that there exists a larger historical debate around Novgorod as an Eastern or Western entity speaks to the potential for further research. St. Sophia's Cathedral is a good place to start. The cathedral functioned as an instrument of political participation, a reflection of Greek Orthodoxy, and as an asylum for the citizens of Novgorod. The cathedral of St. Sophia elicited civic pride and served as a powerful political symbol, but it remains understudied with respect to its Western counterparts.

Some scholars have understood Novgorod's status as an autonomous political entity as an aberration in the wider political landscape and a type of "European Russia" that connected Medieval Russia to the West.[2] Nicholas Riasanovsky and Mark Steinberg argue that Novgorod has political and social importance to Russian history as an example of a successful non-autocratic system

[1] Ágnes Kriza, *Depicting Orthodoxy in the Russian Middle Ages: The Novgorod Icon of Sophia, the Divine Wisdom* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2022), 22.
[2] Nicholas Riasanovsky and Mark Steinberg, "Lord Novgorod the Great," in *A History of Russia*, 8th ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 71.

that maintained roots to the Kievan Rus'.[3] They point out that the city's government successfully imposed limitations on Kievan princes such as Iaroslav Iaroslavich, which was a distinguishing factor of democratic republicanism within Novgorod.[4] The very existence of democratic republicanism at this time dispels the idea of backwardness in Riasanovsky and Steinberg's European Russia to a degree. The republic of Novgorod relied on the political system of the *veche* to maintain the appointed limitations on princes and keep power confined to the Archbishop, the elected *posadnik*, and the *tysiatskii*. The *veche* as the body of republicanism in Novgorod had the power to anoint princes and nobles, make decisions, and elect the *posadnik* and the *tysiatskii*. The *tysiatskii* served as a liaison to the non-boyar class alongside other duties such as commanding portions of the military and regulating commerce within the city-state. The *tysiatskii* provided at least one direct avenue of representative democratic power from the peasantry within the walls of Novgorod. Regardless of class or political status, all Novgorodian voices had some role in enforcing political autonomy. This furthered a sense of civic pride commonly found in Western democracies.

The notion of the *veche* as a democratic republic in a pure form is not without contention, however. Henrik Birnbaum argues that the *boyar* class controlled the membership of the *veche* council and who was to be appointed as representatives of the people.[5] The boyar class consisted of aristocratic and oligarchic individuals within Novgorod. This is not to say that Birnbaum considers Novgorod as facing more East due to the oligarchic perspective he shares on the *veche*. Rather, Birnbaum's understanding reflects the similar reality of many Italian city-states influenced by aristocracy. As Birnbaum states, historians rarely compare Novgorod to Italy.[6] By failing to contrast these two related political spaces, historians risk proliferating Orientalist characterizations. Though Birnbaum declares ultimately that a restrictive boyar class limited political participation among common folks, there remains more to be said.[7] The growth of a political system separate from the system of the larger Kievan Rus' shows an extensive degree of civic and Novgorodian-centered pride that worked to create civic harmony in other facets of citizen's lives.

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[3] Riasanovsky and Steinberg, "Lord Novgorod the Great," 81.
[4] Ibid., 76.
[5] Henrik Birnbaum, "Medieval Novgorod: Political, Social, and Cultural Life in an Old Russian Urban Community," in *Novgorod in Focus: Selected Essays* (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1996), 82-83.
[6] Ibid., 92.
[7] Ibid., 93.

The democratic republic of the veche must be understood as a system that was integral to the growth of a Novgorodian identity that was exemplified by St. Sophia's Cathedral.

The *veche* is but one aspect of Novgorod that has led historians to argue that the city-state was unique among Medieval Russian principalities. Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard are historians who have analyzed the significance of the bountiful trade routes running along the Volkhov River that connected Novgorod to Scandinavian tradesmen. Franklin and Shepard detail the extent of Novgorodian involvement in the fur trade to the west and with the Bulgars to the east.[8] Since Novgorod was essentially separate from the politics of the rest of the Kievan Rus', their trade east to west was unregulated by Kiev but also unprotected. Citizens of the city faced the advantage of engaging in more widespread trade but in many cases had to defend themselves. St. Sophia's Cathedral rested on the commercial half of the Volkhov river and thus served a community of Novgorodian citizens who faced the dual reality of the fur trade.

On a much wider scale, Novgorod trading networks did far more than move goods along a route. Novgorodians established markets across their routes in Germany, the Baltic States, and in England.[9] The interconnectivity established by trade can tell us much about its connection to the West. It shows that Novgorod built commercial relationships with prosperous and "advanced" civilizations. At least in the context of commerce, Novgorodians were generally accepted among Western powers. These trade networks did not appear at the feet of the citizens of Novgorod; they were a result of much labor over many years. The Novgorodians willingness to trade and remain in these distant lands supports the argument to resituate Novgorod within a larger, more global context that moves beyond what it was to the rest of the Kievan Rus'. Commercial trade was but one example of exchange between Novgorod, Scandinavia, and the Bulgars.[10] The author of the Primary Chronicles noted that the early founders of the Kievan Rus' felt that the Varangians were best suited to lead the nascent age of the Rurikid dynasty. As the mixing of Slavic and

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[8] Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shephard, "Integration and Diffusion (c.1130-c.1170)," in *The Emergence of Rus 750-1200* (New York, NY: Longman Publishing, 1996), 332-333.
[9] Riasanovsky and Steinberg, "Lord Novgorod the Great," 78.
[10] Part of Henrik Birnbaum's interpretation in another of his essays from *Novgorod in Focus*, "Novgorod Between East and West," is an explicit cultural exchange between the Varangians and the Novgorodians established in the pseudo mythology of the *Tale of Bygone Years*.[10] Henrik Birnbaum, "Novgorod Between East and West," in *Novgorod in Focus: Selected Essays* (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1996), 26.

Scandinavian etymology and culture shows, the city-state was an open window between east and west; but interactions were, in fact, largely one-sided towards the west, which situated Novgorod more within a western context.

This essay argues that Novgorod was neither Eastern nor Western. This argument adds nuance to the binary that has reduced Eastern cultures to a lesser status. St. Sophia's Cathedral fundamentally an Eastern Orthodox creation but was established within a society influenced by the aforementioned "Western" factors. It cannot be reduced to one category or another. The impact of the cathedral on Novgorod is too important for historians to continue to use debasing cultural categories.

Historians must take the general illiteracy of the Novgorodian population into consideration to appreciate how much St. Sophia meant to the city-state. The illiterate Rus' populations encountered Orthodoxy through the architecture of cathedrals.[11] The cathedral on the west bank of the Volkhov stood as the grandest example of Divine Wisdom in Novgorod, and its visual art works assumed a spiritual significance to the people. St. Sophia was not just beautiful; it was the spiritual heart of Novgorod. St. Sophia's cathedral allowed many citizens who lacked the ability to read or write to participate in the faith. The building built civic pride by its very existence.

As a site of religious observance in Novgorod since the eleventh century, St. Sophia became symbolic of inclusion as it welcomed different social classes to worship. Riasanovsky and Steinberg argue that the thousands of writings etched into birchbark of the cathedral reflect the promotion of writing among various social classes and show a burgeoning collective literacy among the population. St. Sophia's Cathedral played a critical role in this process.[12] Located in the commercial district along the Volkhov River, religious services at the cathedral drew in citizens in search of literacy and inspired them to read Scripture and other religious texts. The rising rates of literacy and education contributed to the sophistication of the Novgorod political system. Although Henrik Birnbaum agrees with Riasanovsky and Steinberg that Novgorod was well connected to the western parts of the world through trade, he disagrees with their perception of the literacy rate and how that influenced the culture of Novgorod. The problem at the heart of the issue is differing interpretations of the birchbark writing. Riasanovsky and Steinberg assert that the birchbark ascriptions are

[11] Paul Dukes, *A History of Russia: Medieval, Modern, Contemporary c. 882-1996* 3rd ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 22.
[12] Riasanovsky and Steinberg, "Lord Novgorod the Great," 80.

records passed on directly from those whose stories line the wood script. Birnbaum argues, on the other hand, that it is likely that the writings and drawings found on these sources were not written directly by those whose lives they discuss. Rather, Birnbaum claims that a professional would have been hired to create the birchbark writings, as to him a high literacy rate among lower social classes during this period seems implausible.[13] If Birnbaum is correct, his argument complicates the progress narrative put forward by other authors in the historical debate surrounding the westernization of Novgorod. However, Birnbaum does not address social or cultural aspects nearly as much as other authors in this debate. Also, Birnbaum credits top-down administration far more than the work of the people on the ground for the social and cultural achievements of Novgorod fundamental to its unique identity.

The debate around the westernization of Novgorod is relevant to our understanding of St. Sophia's Cathedral in that Novgorodian political and social culture influenced Eastern Orthodoxy within the city-state. The cathedral had significant influence on the people of Novgorod in that it was a space created by the public for public use as a forum or site of protection. Historians like Augustine Thompson have dedicated much research to the importance of religious structures in the emergence of republican city-states in Italy. Thompson identifies a relationship between people and sacred places in this context. He demonstrates that Italian cities had relics and locations where citizens would go on pilgrimage to connect physically to orthodoxy.[14] The very same was true for Novgorod. St. Sophia's collection of icons such as the Our Lady of the Sign served the exact same purpose and should be recognized as important as other religious orthodox icons in the West. The icon represented not only the visage of Wisdom, but a love for learning and growing.

Daniel Waley and Trevor Dean also describe the city republics of medieval Italy as not unlike the Novgorod city-state. Like Thompson, Waley and Dean identify a relationship between political and religious spheres. Often palaces were built alongside cathedrals in order to facilitate civil forums, political discussions and present the clergy as a necessary cog in the municipal machine.[15] Both the Novgorod Chronicle and the Olgovich Charter make clear that this is not a uniquely "Western" feature. Cities in the Kievan Rus and in medieval Italy both fused political activity

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[13] Birnbaum, "Medieval Novgorod," 79.
[14] Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125-1325*,(University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 206-207.
[15] Daniel Waley and Trevor Dean, *The Italian City Republics* 4th ed. (Great Britain, UK: Pearson
Education Limited, 2010), 107.

with the Orthodox Church in ways that allowed bishops and nobles to shape and monitor political participation.

Comparative history can only go so far in establishing the relevance of St. Sophia's to the infusion of civic pride in Novgorod. There are several places where we can examine the civic pride from the perspective of lived experience. The *Chronicle of Novgorod*, for example, recounts the history of Novgorod and reveals the fusion of identity between the church and the city-state. The text was written across several centuries by varying members of the clergy throughout Novgorod, and as such it has a significant Christian bias running throughout the chronicle that attribute acts of good and bad, or of malice and mercy to the influence of God and the Devil.[16] The *Chronicle of Novgorod* emphasizes the ritualistic and symbolic importance of St. Sophia's cathedral in Novgorod. Furthermore, the chronicle ties together the bond that practitioners of Eastern Orthodoxy felt with Constantinople, which dampens the narrative of an empire befallen by darkness with no connection to 'civilized' or 'advanced' societies.

The rituals performed in St. Sophia's cathedral encompassed all aspects of life and death. Religious rituals tied St. Sophia's cathedral to Novgorod in ways that allowed individuals to navigate physically in and around the cathedral. In the *Chronicle of Novgorod*, an excerpt from 1187 celebrates the ascension of Gavrilo to the role of *vladyka,* or "Archbishop."[17] The celebration included a processional march from St. Sophia's cathedral to St. Michael's monastery. That the parade signaled the rise of a prominent religious figure asserts two points of significance. First, the location of the edifice is significant within a religious context as the beginning of a new ecclesiastical journey; and second, it was culturally relevant enough to be an obvious choice to begin a journey. After all, parades and marches are always assembled somewhere people feel comfortable gathering.

Another ritual of a different nature that held significance in Novgorod and in Eastern Orthodoxy was the shearing of the prince's head. This shearing, the *postrig*, affirmed an individual's status as a newly appointed prince of Novgorod. Rostislav Mikhailovich in 1230 was treated to such a distinguished tradition within the walls of

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[16] Arnold Lelis, "The View From the Northwest: The Chronicle of Novgorod as the Mirror of Local Experience of Rus' History, 1016-1333," *Russian History 32*, no. ¾ (2005): 390.
[17] Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes, eds., *The Chronicle of Novgorod: 1016-1471*, (London, ENG: Gray's Inn, 1914), 33.

St. Sophia by his father, Mikhail Vsevolodovich.[18] That this act took place inside of St. Sophia's cathedral links the validity of prince hood to the space of the cathedral in a way that made the seat of governance difficult to challenge.

The burials of important political and religious figures appear many times throughout the *Chronicle of Novgorod*. In 1136 the chronicle recorded that Bishop Arkadi was laid in the porch of the church.[19] Later in 1178 and 1180, a father and son, Mstislav and Mstislav Rostislavits, respectively, were buried within that two year time frame in the same place.[20] As members of the nobility they received the same honor as Bishop Arkadi to be laid to rest in the Church because of their influence and economic contributions to the city-state and the church. In 1218 the *knyaz* Vasili Mstislavich died and was transported nearly 200 miles from Torzhok to Novgorod just to find peace within St. Sophia's cathedral.[21] These burials and their location were very specifically chosen for high-ranking members of society who, even in death, wanted to remain connected to St. Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, and to Novgorod itself. It is not by accident that, for example, Vasili Mstislavich's body traveled 200 miles, a likely expensive undertaking, to fit the exact circumstances that were either requested by him in life or agreed upon for him after his death. Over one hundred and thirty years later, *posadnik* Mikhail was brought back to the church of St. Sophia after a conflict with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[22] The *posadnik* was essentially the mayor of a Kievan principality; thus, we see another significant tie between powerful political figures and their will to be buried alongside the knyaz and the vladyka. Forever would their legacy be tied to an icon of Novgorod. In their interment these individuals had the opportunity to cement as part of their identity a confirmation of their faith and their memory underneath the Divine Wisdom.

Examples of ritual and ceremony within the *Chronicle of Novgorod* epitomize the spiritual and sacred nature of St. Sophia's Cathedral. To the people of Novgorod, the church played an important role as a recognized symbol of piety and sanctity within Novgorod. In times of trouble the church protected the citizens of Novgorod against the workings of the Devil. As an ecclesiastical text, the *Chronicle of Novgorod* often cites the role of divine and diabolical forces when explaining events. The Chronicle includes passages in which groups or individuals become possessed by the evil workings of the Devil and work against peaceful members of

[18] Michell and Forbes, *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, 74.
[19] Ibid., 24.
[20] Ibid., 30.
[21] Ibid., 58.
[22] Ibid., 103.

the community. In one such passage, for no clear reason a man named Arseni became the target of townspeople who are described as afflicted by the aforementioned workings of the Devil.[23] Arseni flees to the cathedral and locks the doors behind him, creating a barrier that separates the two sides—both practically as a form of self-preservation and spiritually as a repellent to the malice of the Devil on his heels. In another passage, a man named Semeon Mikhailovich also fled to the church after the townspeople wailed against him in a mob.[24] Under the guidance of the *vladyka*, Semeon spent the night in the cathedral and resolved the conflict with the town the following morning. In both cases, the church symbolized protection and abjuration among the citizens of Novgorod in their times of need. Especially for Semeon, the church also served as a space for reflection and supported, even indirectly, the ability to make amends for real or perceived wrongdoing. The walls of the church were powerful. Citizens, in times of trouble, turned to the cathedral for stability. The space stood out to the citizens of Novgorod as more protective, more forgiving, and ultimately more fair than other systems in place.

Despite the religious motivations that fill the pages of the Chronicle of Novgorod, the protection offered by the cathedral was not reserved only for the forces of the Devil. In a very practical sense, the cathedral also protected Novgorodians from outside invasions by other ethnic groups. In 1238, the Chronicle outlines a Tartar invasion that stretched over much of the northern Kievan Rus'. When the Tartars closed in on Novgorod, the authors of the *Chronicle of Novgorod* credited St. Sophia's cathedral as a significant barrier to the invaders.[25] At that time the walls of the cathedral likely provided little practical defense, but while under siege from the Tartar invasion, the citizens of Novgorod trusted in the presence of the Divine Wisdom within St. Sophia's cathedral to protect Novgorod.

In a second invasion of the Turkic-speaking nomadic Tatars from the east, the pressure of class rank and an underlying fear of God created panic in 1259 for many citizens of Novgorod. According to the chronicle, upon hearing warnings of an invasion the citizens began dividing up those fit to be "tribute" to the Tartars based on whether they belonged to the nobility or not.[26] The impending collection of tribute by the Tartars and this fear of God and His plan for the "accursed" tributes led them to join together by St. Sophia's cathedral.[27] This is yet another example of the

[23] Michell and Forbes, *The Chronicle of Novgorod,* 71.
[24] Ibid., 110.
[25] Ibid., 84.
[26] Ibid., 96.
[27] Ibid., 97.

protection that many citizens felt was provided by the Cathedral in Novgorod. St. Sophia was their first resort when they felt that God did not support them running from their tribute positions. What does this mean for the symbolic position of the church in the city-state? Certainly not that they felt more comfortable under the guidance of St. Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, than they did their God. It does show that the building, both symbolically and in practice, stood out in the people's minds as refuge.

This feeling of protection described within *The Chronicle of Novgorod* was not one-sided. During the buildup to a major catastrophe or in light of a recent event, many religious leaders took it upon themselves to care for the church in multiple ways. Whether through adhering their own types of protection, enhancing the aesthetic appeal of the building, or adding to it among larger citywide reforms, St. Sophia's cathedral continually was a site for restoration and augmentation in Novgorod. One example of this, noted by V.L. Ianin, was the erection of both the second iteration of the cathedral and a set of fortifications to encase it.[28] The building was first made from wood but after a fire in the 1150s destroyed much of the structure, it was rebuilt from stone in order to prevent the same destruction. This likely would have been an expensive undertaking and required the skill of craftsmen not regularly appointed for construction of other buildings. Walls around the cathedral and around the Kremlin were also constructed to protect the structure from invaders and to protect those in seek of refuge.

In addition to refuge and protection, St. Sophia's cathedral stood to emulate the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. The religious perspective that fills the pages of the *Chronicle of Novgorod* is no less evident when discussing events in Constantinople and their relation to Novgorod. The *Chronicle of Novgorod* presents the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and the ensuing demise of "God-protected *Kostyantingrad*" in detail afforded to no other event between 1016 and 1471.[29] St. Sophia's cathedral stands in testimony to the pull of the center on this periphery city-state in the Eastern Orthodox world. In many of the same ways that Constantinople is considered to be a "window to the west," so too did Novgorod fill this role within the Kievan Rus' in medieval Russia.

Many buildings in medieval Russia during this time were very susceptible to ravaging fires, and churches were no exception. Though the Northwest portion of modern day Russia is generally boggy and damp, in 1261 over eighty buildings burnt

[28] Ianin, "Medieval Novgorod" in *The Cambridge History of Russia Volume 1*, 194.
[29] Michell and Forbes, *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, 48.

to cinder in Novgorod.[30] St. Sophia's cathedral survived, likely due to lead that was attached to the roof under the order of vladyka Dalmat earlier in the same year. This was likely an expensive and time consuming project that required a certain level of foresight; it must be true then that the protection the cathedral provided alongside religious and cultural significance played heavily into the decision to renovate the building as a way to prevent a disastrous fire.

The early years of the Chronicle, between roughly 1100 to 1130, are written in a manner unlike much of the rest of the piece. The entries, year after year, are often short and detail only one major event per year: a burial, a baptism, the replacement of a bishop—even some natural disasters. One deviation from that norm is a specific passage from the year 1108. During that year, St. Sophia's cathedral was adorned with paintings and frescoes.[31] This entry reflects the commitment of the people of Novgorod to care for the upkeep and well-being of the cathedral and the relevance of such upkeep in the eyes of the clergy who deemed the work so important as to list it alongside many of the sacred rituals performed in Eastern Orthodoxy. Small moments like this are just as useful in describing the relevance of St. Sophia's cathedral in Novgorod. Often the most mundane items are ones that humans hold most closely, and the addition of paintings and frescoes speaks to a desire to add beauty and color in a way that would improve the condition of the cathedral.

Like the addition of the paintings and frescoes, other changes were made to St. Sophia's cathedral that were important enough to describe in detail. In 1144 the porches of the cathedral were "fittingly" painted.[32] These changes are listed alongside other major improvements in the same year, such as a second, modernized bridge constructed to help cross the Volkhov river that divorces the eastern and western sides of Novgorod. Changes such as this reflect a general feeling of the desire to improve. By painting and continually caring for the cathedral, we can examine a desire amongst the people of Novgorod to tend in the same way their faith and their connection to St. Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, vis-á-vis the cathedral. It is likely the church funded these renovations after all. It was heavily involved in all commercial aspects of Novgorodian life, from working with the *tysiatskii* to establishing Russian churches in commercial centers abroad.[33] The economic

[30] Michell and Forbes, *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, 97.
[31] Ibid., 8.
[32] Ibid., 18.
[33] Riasanovsky and Steinberg, "Lord Novgorod the Great," 78.

prosperity of the city was linked directly to the growth of the church's influence in the city-state. The cathedral of St. Sophia served as a physical junction for the ongoings of traders looking to go abroad and citizens at home, positioned conveniently on the same side of the Volkhov.

We have already seen that high-ranking political members of Novgorod chose in many cases to be buried under the protection of St. Sophia's cathedral. At this time, political discussions and forums were frequently held under the auspices of the same place. The *veche* was one of the most significant political bodies to be born from Novgorod and a defining feature of the Kievan Rus' as an inspiration to modern democratic ideals. The *veche* was a semi-oligarchic political system created within Novgorod that appointed power primarily to a small collection of nobles; the meetings had representatives of the townspeople, however, and through the representatives a plethora of public activism was available. Within the *Chronicle of Novgorod*, the *veche* council, especially during the thirteenth century, met in times of crisis.[34] Regardless of design or even original intent, the building came to be in the minds of the people of Novgorod to be a welcoming, public space that not only helped to navigate political discussions but allow rational actors to make difficult decisions in times of crisis, as happened in 1290 and 1299.

The *Chronicle of Novgorod* is one source written by members of the clergy across Novgorod that can be used to understand the relevance of St. Sophia's cathedral in the political, religious, and cultural goings-on of the city-state of Novgorod between 1050 and 1300. It stood as a protector to many in their time of need against the workings of the Devil and outside forces. It was cared for much the same by the *vladyka* through refurbishment and was tended to in a way that promoted longevity for the church. It was a vital component of many rituals and ceremonies both related to and outside of the ecclesiastical world. Furthermore, it represents the intense connection that Novgorod felt with the center of the Eastern Orthodox world, Constantinople, and tried in many ways to imitate it as such. Though the Chronicle is heavily influenced by the work and writings of members of the church, this document shows us how different groups of Novgorodians came to St. Sophia's cathedral not for religious reasons—a testament to the accessibility, importance, and ubiquitous nature of a structure so central to a city-state on the cutting edge of the Kievan Rus'. St. Sophia's cathedral was Novgorod, and Novgorod was it.

[34] Michell and Forbes, *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, 111-114.

Princes of Novgorod tied their power in large part to the clergy as part of Novgorod's history of self-governance. Since princes were not appointed by Kiev, they were generally selected from families outside of the current ruling dynasty. This meant that invited rulers had little rapport to begin with, and generally worked alongside the clergy and the veche to establish power. We can see examples of this connection imprinted on legal ruling documents. A legal charter presented by Prince Sviatoslav Olgovich framed the cathedral as a point of guidance to the legal customs of the city-state in the medieval period. Moreover, through the charter Prince Olgovich claimed that the many needs of the prince and the bishop and God must be met by the goods granted by the charter according to the third tenant.[35] The charter established St. Sophia as a necessary adjudicator of such transactions and other legal matters. The cathedral, through matters such as the presentation of this charter, became a space for much more than the individual needs of the nobility, the bishops, and the clergy. It became a locus for interrelated issues and a site by which legal matters find purchase. The building and what it stood for had gravity, which Olgovich recognized.

Prince Olgovich also enhanced his own legal authority through the reputation of the cathedral. In making his claims on the distribution of furs for each district in the fourth tenant, Olgovich chose to speak on behalf of the cathedral.[36] The legal statement that Olgovich made in this document reinforced the station and importance of the prince. By tying himself to the grandeur of the cathedral, Olgovich intertwined the power of the nobility and the power of the clergy in the eyes of the people. Olgovich's command almost humanizes the cathedral. The charter documented the distribution of sets of furs to the various districts of Novgorod. While this document did not reveal why certain districts received certain amounts, they all faced a similar punishment if any prince or bishop, current or future, reneged on the binding arrangement. Olgovich in the fifth tenant uses threats of disapproval and rejection by God and St. Sophia to maintain the established rules. The cathedral, in turn, stood as a reminder of the arm-twisting capability of the princedom. The nobility would not have forgotten their appointed tithes. Remembrance of legal matters through St. Sophia's cathedral was enhanced by the magnitude of rituals, meetings, services, and foot traffic that went through the cathedral throughout the

[35] Daniel Kaiser, "The Statutory Charter of the Novgorod Prince Sviatoslav Olgovich [ca. 1136-38] to the Church of St. Sophia in Novgorod," in *The Laws of Rus'—Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries* (*The Laws of Russia Series; Series 1, Volume 1)*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Charles Schlacks Jr. Publisher, 1992), 1.
[36] Ibid., 1.

medieval era. The cathedral stood as a prominent monument to Olgovich's Statutory Charter.

Novgorod embodied western notions of civility present in other parts of Western Europe and in medieval Italy in particular. Some historians have taken a similar approach to study the city-state of Kiev. Paul Dukes claims that throughout the medieval period, the center of culture of the Kievan Rus' oscillated between Novgorod and Kiev in which each city took turns setting the standard of excellence in political, economic and civic spaces.[37] This assertion implies that at moments when Kiev appeared to face toward the West, Novgorod inherently reverted back into a more "eastern" city. The constant presence of St. Sophia's cathedral, which served various municipal functions for citizens from 1050 to 1300 and well beyond, Novgorod's sophisticated self-governance, and the city's commercial success challenge that claim.[38] Comparisons between Kiev and Novgorod are inevitable; they both were centers of economic and cultural prosperity for the Rurikid dynasty and they both constructed cathedrals in imitation of the Hagia Sophia in the name of the Divine Wisdom. If further research pushes back against the oriental binary, it must also approach the study of these cities in a way that does not undermine the work already seeking to dispel such a binary.

St. Sophia's cathedral, examined outside of the Orientalist framework, allows historians to recontextualize medieval Russian infrastructures and peoples. Historians must continue to study the interactions between people and the spaces they occupy outside of the "West" in order to create more equitable historical narratives and attitudes. Historical scholarship on Novgorod as something eastern or western has done little to expel prejudice. The cathedral's history as something uniquely Novgorodian allows for further study that dispels these notions. Through chronicles and charters we see the care and respect the cathedral received as a beacon of Novgorodian culture and a link to custom and tradition for many. In time, newfound understandings can be used to explore spaces, akin to St. Sophia's Cathedral.

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[37] Dukes, *A History of Russia*, 19.
[38] Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia and the Russians: A History* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 63.

# German Sounds, American Ears: The American Perspective on West German Pop Music

Zachery Siadek

In the 1970's and 1980's, the world was a far more interconnected place than it had been in previous decades. The proliferation of air travel allowed people to traverse halfway around the world in under a day, and cultural exchange between citizens occurred more frequently via radio and television. Music was a particularly busy area of activity, and the "British Invasion" of the 1960's exposed Americans to foreign music that forever changed the cultural landscape. The United States was undergoing an evolution in its music scene. American musical culture was becoming more inclusive and diverse, and musicians from around the world were trying to find their place on American airwaves. Every song, every album, and every band has a story to tell, but the story told by the music coming from West Germany during this time represents a unique phenomenon in history. The perspective of Americans during the 1970's and 1980's of West German pop music is not immediately apparent, but after closer inspection it is clear that their tastes in music was motivated by far more simple factors than one might think. It all came down to the sound for the Americans, who prioritized more audibly pleasing works over ones that might have had more meaning and linguistic relevance. The results of this study provide the basis for what could be a standing cultural phenomenon within America.

The evolution of West German pop culture has shown clear American influence ever since the end of the Second World War. Despite having its own long standing musical traditions, West Germany came to adopt the style of rock and roll following its occupation by American forces. The entire history of the West German pop music scene could be explained as the history of the complicated relationship between the two cultures. The development of West German music shows evidence of what some believe to be a contest between a firmly rooted, local culture and a culture that was "threatening to overwhelm and annihilate vulnerable local cultures in other parts of the world."[1] In most writings on the subject two concepts rise to the surface every time German pop music is discussed: attitudes behind the constituent genres and the use of the German language.

[1] Alex Seago, "'Where Hamburgers Sizzle on an Open Grill Night and Day'(?): Global Pop Music and Americanization in the Year 2000," *American Studies* 41 (2000):120.

Von Dirke argues that the rise of each daughter genre from the advent of rock and roll into Germany is marked by rebellion.[2] *Volkslied* (Folk song) was a style of music that emerged during the 1960's. Historically tied to Nazi ideals of "the folk" and race, the folk music movement drew on traditional musical styles and appropriated them as an oppositional force to the country's Nazi past.[3] Despite the reclamation of the German folk style, Von Dirke contends that the usage of the German language in this genre did not contribute toward its usage in later rock and roll music, which will be discussed later.[4] Punk rock in Germany is a product of German counterculture, and Von Dirke attributes its success to the distaste that fans had for mainstream rock and roll in the late 1970's. She argues, however, that this phenomenon was not unique to Germany.[5] Even German New Wave, a genre distinguished by its synth-pop sound, was characterized by a type of counterculture, she asserts.[6] Other historians appear to be in agreement. Fraser and Hoffmann argue that "in the 1960's and 1970's, much of the popular music was identified with a rebellion against the older generation."[7]

The second, and more widely written about concept relates to the use of the German language in German music. Fraser and Hoffmann provide a brief history of English music's entry into Germany. For a short time, English hits were covered in the vernacular by their original artists, but before long German disappeared from the pop music scene.[8] German artists soon adopted the American musical style, but they used the German tongue with little success. According to Fraser and Hoffmann, the lyrics were "often pretty pathetic."[9] These two authors address the claim that German does not mix well with the types of rhythms utilized by rock and roll by taking a seemingly neutral stance. Von Dirke asserts that the use of German lyrics in the early 1980's was itself an act of counterculture, and indeed claims that the decision to use German was a conscious choice to break away from American culture.[10] Fraser and Hoffmann assert, however, that in the 1980's and 1990's the use

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[2] Sabine Von Dirke, "New German Wave: An Analysis of the Development of German Rock Music," *German Politics and Society* 18 (1989): 65.
[3] Ibid., 66-67.
[4] Ibid., 66-67.
[5] Ibid., 69.
[6] Ibid., 70.
[7] Catherine C. Fraser and Dierk O. Hoffmann, *Pop Culture Germany!: Media, Arts, and Lifestyle* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2006) 272.
[8] Ibid., 263.
[9] Ibid., 264.
[10] Von Dirke, "New German Wave," 79.

of German actually decreased after the short lived popularity of the German New Wave, which would go against Von Dirke's language revival idea.[11] They actually chalk this up to an increase in foreign influence during that period.

The subject of cultural imperialism comes up in each text that deals with language, and it is another site of debate among music historians. The proliferation of American culture in Western Europe is a common sight to be seen in postwar Europe. Following World War II, the American occupation of western Germany led to high rates of cultural diffusion in the realms of music, fashion, and entertainment. As the influence of the Soviet Union grew during the Cold War, the United States continued to spread the fruits of the capitalist model. Conversely, it could be argued that the capitalist model used the United States to spread itself. Historians have approached the phenomenon differently. The cultural imperialism thesis contends that the United States and other First World nations propagate and sometimes impose their cultures on other countries, especially by means of the media.[12] Several authors, such as Seago and Fluck, argue that the cultural imperialism thesis, or McDonaldization, is false. According to them the proliferation of the English language does not represent an effort to replace native cultures. Seago, while conceding that the Anglo-American cultural sphere of influence has an "omnipresence," contends that local cultures are in little danger of being replaced.[13] Seago argues that pop music is more easily democratized and therefore allows the native culture to have a firmer control on its own music. This does not address the fact that the German pop stars of the 1980's were under contract with large, sometimes international production companies, as Jefferies writes.[14] Historian Winfried Fluck goes on record to disagree with the cultural imperialism thesis yet somehow still can manage to say that "American pop culture played an important and positive role in the westernization of Germany."[15] Fraser and Hoffmann likewise present America as a cultural empire. However, they claim that the United States was a "dream or a utopia" for the postwar generation, which would explain a more eager adoption of American music rather than the imposition asserted by the cultural

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[11] Fraser and Hoffmann, *Pop Culture Germany!,* 270.
[12] Seago, "Where Hamburgers Sizzle," 119-121.
[13] Ibid., 133-134.
[14] Holger M. Briel, ed., *German Culture and Society: The Essential Glossary* (London: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[15] Agnes C. Mueller ed., and Winfried Fluck, "The Americanization of German Culture? The Strange, Paradoxical Ways of Modernity," essay, in *German Pop Culture: How "American" Is It?* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 21

imperialism thesis.[16] Von Dirke claims that as early as the late 1970's Germans were turning away from the United States as a cultural source.[17] Fraser and Hoffmann state that at least by the beginning of the 20th century that Germans have begun to shy away from using the United States as the source of their music.[18]

There is a dearth of scholarship on the complex interplay between American and German culture when it comes to pop music. Larger trends have been sketched out, and one can draw a timeline of which language was used with a good degree of accuracy. What remains in the dark, however, is the American side of the musical cultural exchange. The secondary sources offer only a vague look into the past, and they almost completely lack the American perspective. They do offer a working context in which to place American perspectives, but there is still so much more that remains a mystery. Was the German predilection for American music reciprocated? What was the reason for this? Did American audiences only consume English music? These questions can lead us closer toward a more critical analysis of the cultural imperialism thesis, which has only been rejected in half-measures. Data concerning music consumption in the 1970's and the 1980's seems to suggest that by and large Americans were not as discriminating as one would have previously believed. Evidence in support of the mass consumption of German music by Americans reveals much about American attitudes toward Germany.

There appears to be a lack of literature about the American response to the development of German pop music, despite the profound effect that American culture has had on it. In order to get a deeper understanding of the postwar cultural exchange this aspect should not be ignored. This inquiry looks mainly toward the music of big artists like Nena, Falco, and the Scorpions that was exported from West Germany during the late 1970's and the 1980's, as that was the height of German pop music's popularity in the United States. While attempting to answer some of the questions previously posed, the history of this music told an increasingly complex story. At first glance, it seems that the German New Wave accomplished its subconscious goal, first started by the punk music scene, of restoring the German language to the forefront of the country's musical culture. This would certainly be the conclusion that Von Dirke argues. However, there are other aspects within this inquiry that show that the German New Wave was perhaps not as colossal as previously believed. There was some ebb and flow, and when the Wave finally

[16] Fraser and Hoffmann, *Pop Culture Germany!,* 264.
[17] Von Dirke, "New German Wave," 68-69.
[18] Ibid., 264.

reached the shore it crashed upon the seawall of American pop culture. The crest of the Wave may have made it over, but a great deal of it fell short.

The nature of this study presented a unique challenge when it came to the sources. The popularity of music is not assessed by how many people like the music or how *much* they like it. The popularity of music is assessed by using more concrete variables such as record sales and radio airtime. These two factors are actually how music and entertainment magazine *Billboard* computes its famed "Hot 100" chart. Since its inception in 1958, the *Billboard* Hot 100 has provided a continuous list of the most popular songs in the United States.[19] While there have been other music charts out there, such as the *Rolling Stone* Album Chart, *Billboard's* methodology provides a more accurate measurement on a "per song" basis. *Billboard* also continues to track songs from any and all genres, while *Rolling Stone* magazine only collected from "rock-oriented stores."[20] All these things considered, *Billboard's* Hot 100 chart allows one to see how an individual song fares against a broader spectrum of American society.

This study assessed and analyzed the popularity of six different West German artists from the 1970's and 1980's. The artists in question are those who made it big (in the United States and are the ones who Americans (or at least, the ones who listened to the radio stations and bought from the record stores that reported their airtime and sales data) would have known of. To analyze any artists that did not see widespread popularity in the United States would be a pointless exercise, as this study concerns the American response to the music that they actually heard and listened to. The six West German artists whose music became popular (according to *Billboard* and concertgoers) in America are *Kraftwerk*, Boney M., the Scorpions, Falco, Nena, and Peter Schilling. Some of the artists operated at the same time as one another, but for the most part their careers follow along a timeline from 1970 until well after the end of the German New Wave in the early 1990's. Each artist had a unique relationship with the languages they used in their music, and their popularity in the U.S. can by no means be chalked up to what language they use.

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[19] Chris Molanphy, "How the Hot 100 Became America's Hit Barometer," NPR, August 1, 2013, https://www.npr.org/sections/therecord/2013/08/16/207879695/how-the-hot-100-became-americas-hit-barometer.

[20] "The Chart." Rolling Stone, Jun 07, 1984, 61, https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/chart/docview/2513187803/se-2.

There is evidence to suggest, however, that the usage of English certainly curried favour with the American public.

The first German pop artist to gain popularity in America was one of the pioneers of electronic music called *Kraftwerk*, which means Power Station. *Kraftwerk* began in the city of Düsseldorf and became known for its techno, almost avant garde sound. Many of their songs featured a relative scarcity of lyrics, yet some tracks utilized English and even French. Kraftwerk's sound took root in the United States following the release of their third album: *Autobahn,* released in 1974. This album took to the *Billboard* "Hot 200" (akin to the Hot 100, but for albums) in 1975 and remained there for 22 weeks until it peaked at 5th most popular album in the United States. The self-titled song "Autobahn" managed to reach number 25 on the Hot 100 in May of that year.[21] In addition, Kraftwerk did come to perform in the United States.[22] Extant televised performances and newspaper coverage show that the band toured throughout the United States in places like New York City, Atlanta, and Sacramento in 1975, the same year that *Autobahn* began climbing the charts.[23] Official promotional materials and news reports reveal that they began their tour at the Auditorium Theater in Rochester, and they performed around the country until they left their final venue to travel to the UK.[24] Kraftwerk did have subsequent success with the *Billboard* Hot 100 and 200, but nothing they produced came close to the success of *Autobahn*. The band's performance on the charts and the timing within

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[21] "Billboard Hot 100," *Billboard*, May 3, 1975, https://www.billboard.com/charts/hot-100/.

[22] Ray Townley, "Germany's Kraftwerk: Metal of the Road," *Rolling Stone* (New York City: Rolling Stone, 1975), Jul 03, 1975, 20, https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/germanys-kraftwerk-metal-road/docview/2509568498/se-2.

[23] "German Kraftwerk, A Rock Band, Holds Beacon Fans Rapt," *New York Times* (New York City, the New York Times Company, 1975), Apr 07, 1975. https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/german-kraftwerk-rock-band-holds-beacon-fans-rapt/docview/120602073/se-2; Henry Edwards, "Pop Notes: The Sturm and Drang of the German Rock Invasion," *New York Times* (New York City: New York Times, 1975), Apr 20, 1975, https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/pop-notes-sturm-drang-german-rock-invasion/docview/120633217/se-2.

[24] Dan Conner, "Kraftwerk Debuts Here," *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 4, 1975, sec. In Review.

the musical context of its U.S. tour indicate that the techno sound was something of a novelty for consumers.

Boney M. is contemporarily famous for its hit "Rasputin." In the late 1970's, this group hit the European airwaves with a classic Disco sound that brought them widespread continental fame. Although "Rasputin" never made it to the Hot 100 during the period covered in this study, the album on which it was first featured placed 134th on the Hot 200 by October of 1978.[25] Several of the band's other tracks did make it to the Hot 100, like "Rivers of Babylon," "Daddy Cool," "Mary's Boy Child/ Oh My Lord," and "Ma Baker."[26] These songs only saw marginal success, and with the exception of "Rivers of Babylon" none of them reached into the esteemed "Top 40" of the Hot 100. In addition, "Rivers of Babylon" being the exception again, these songs were only on the Hot 100 for under a month.[27] The middling popularity of Boney M.'s music coincided with a time in which Disco music reached its peak in popularity, and artists like Donna Summer, Earth, Wind, & Fire, Rick James, and the Village People were already long-time contenders for their chart spots.[28] The key to Boney M.'s success may very well have been their propensity to sing in English. Each song that made it to the Hot 100 (and even their most recently popular track, "Rasputin") were all sung in the English tongue. The English lyrics of their music would have fit seamlessly into any set at the discotheque. Another factor that cannot be ignored is the fact that the members of the band were all Afro-Caribbeans. Race could have played a factor in their appeal. Disco's origins among the black community in America was no secret during the time that Boney M. was active.[29]

Perhaps the stand-out example of West German artists making it big in America would be the Scorpions. This band, solidly hard rock, is widely known in the United States as a staple in the rock scene. During the 1980's the Scorpions enjoyed a relatively constant stream of chart listings, especially for their albums on the Hot 200. One of their most recognizable tracks, "Rock You Like a Hurricane," peaked at number 25 on the Hot 100 in 1984. By May it had surpassed American and British artists like the Cars, Billy Idol, Queen, and Darryl Hall and John Oates.[30]

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[25] "Billboard Hot 200," October 21, 1978.
[26] "Boney M: Biography, Music & News," Billboard, accessed October 16, 2023, https://www.billboard.com/artist/boney-m-2/chart-history/dan/.
[27] "Boney M: Biography, Music & News."
[28] "Billboard Hot 100," August 26, 1978.
[29] Peter Shapiro, *Turn the Beat Around: The Secret History of Disco* (New York City, NY: Faber and Faber, 2020).
[30] "Billboard Hot 100," May 26, 1984.

Before this the Scorpions landed their hit, "No One Like You," on the Hot 100 in 1982. This song only made it as high as number 62, however.[31] On the Hot 200, the Scorpions' album *Blackout* peaked at 10th in the country and stayed on the chart for over a year.[32] Their other albums: *Love at First Sting, World Wide Live,* and *Savage Amusement* enjoyed similar degrees of popularity during the 1980's.[33] The Scorpions' music was more often than not sung in English, which allowed them to fit in with the contemporary hard rock scene. Their lyrics were relatable, and more importantly they were understandable to an American audience. The Scorpions seemed to lean into the claim that the German language did not fit in with rock sound, but there were other European artists at the time creating a new sound that accommodated their mother tongue.

The New German Wave, or *Neue Deutsche Welle,* was Germany's take on the New Wave sensation. It was heavily laden with the synthetic beats introduced by Kraftwerk, but with the addition of more vocals the Wave sounded more akin to the stereotypical "pop" sound of the 1980's. The German New Wave (or NDW, for *Neue Deutsche Welle*, as it's commonly abbreviated) featured a return toward the usage of German lyrics, and as Von Dirke argued it represented a movement for cultural independence from the United States.[34] The previously discussed artists utilized English, but the nature of NDW discouraged its usage. The resultant popularity of the German New Wave artists presents a complex cultural relationship between the German world and America.

The zeitgeist of the German New Wave was spearheaded by Nena and her numerous red balloons. In early March of 1984, her hit song "99 Luftballoons" reached its zenith at number 2 on the Hot 100.[35] It should be duly noted that the track that performed so well in America was "99 Luftballoons," not its English cover by the same artist: "99 Red Balloons." The English cover never made it to U.S. charts. Evaluating the causes behind the song's popularity is difficult, but it certainly was not helped by its usage of English. The song possesses a catchy, synthetic beat typical to many New Wave pop songs, and singer Gabriele Kerner's vocals are unapologetically German with hard and clear pronunciations. The underlying guitar captures the punk rock sound that NDW sprouted from, which could have appealed

[31] "Billboard Hot 100," July 17, 1982.
[32] "Billboard Hot 200," May 29, 1982.
[33] "Scorpions: Biography, Music & News," Billboard, accessed November 8, 2023, https://www.billboard.com/artist/scorpions/.
[34] Von Dirke, "New German Wave," 79.
[35] "Billboard Hot 100" March 3, 1984.

to American audiences. “99 Luftballoons” was by far the standout track for many Americans. Critics praised the song’s catchy sound, but that praise did not extend to the rest of the album’s tracks. Nena’s other songs received criticism from some, and in fact critics like Don Shewey, a contemporary writer for *Rolling Stone* magazine, help shed light on the reasoning behind why only a select few West German tracks made it in America. Shewey called the other tracks on *Epic*, the album that “99 Luftballoons” was released, “utterly undistinguished, a swirl of routine synth pop.”[36] This comment is indispensable for this study’s analysis later on. Nena never performed in the United States during the height of her popularity.[37] Despite the somewhat exceptional case of Nena, she was not the only German-singing artists to make it big in the United States.

This New Wave artist was actually not German, but Austrian in nationality. Linguistically speaking, however, Falco was German. Falco’s breakthrough track into the United States was “Rock Me Amadeus,” the first German language song to reach number 1 on the *Billboard* Hot 100.[38] In March of 1986 “Rock Me Amadeus” trumped tracks like “How Will I Know,” “Addicted to Love,” and “These Dreams.” Falco’s success represented a major victory for German artists and could have even represented a shift in American attitudes toward the German language in music. Prior to this, Falco released a song called “Der Kommissar” in his native German, but it never reached the Hot 100. The England-based rock band After the Fire released a cover of “Der Kommissar” a year after Falco’s original was released in 1982, this time translating most of the lyrics into English. The song found widespread popularity in the United States, ultimately reaching 5th in the country in 1983.[39] It is difficult to explain precisely why Falco’s version never landed in America. The After the Fire cover featured a stronger guitar part and used the American vernacular as opposed to German. These are the two largest differences between the tracks themselves. They came out relatively close to one another, timewise. Perhaps Americans were still shaking off their disco tendencies in 1982, not quite ready for the impact of the New Wave. By 1986 Americans wholeheartedly

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[36] Don Shewey, "99 Luftballoons." *Rolling Stone* (New York City: Rolling Stone, 1984) Apr 12, 1984, 60, https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/99-luftballons/docview/2518075388/se-2.

[37] Robert Levine, “Nena Talks New Music & Playing Her First U.S. Concerts,” Billboard, September 27, 2016, https://www.billboard.com/music/rock/nena-interview-99-luftballons-us-shows-7525510/.

[38] “Billboard Hot 100,” March 29, 1986.

[39] “Billboard Hot 100,” April 30, 1983.

consumed Falco's German music, and later on in the year his track "Vienna Calling" landed on the Hot 100 where it climbed to number 18.[40]

The wider context of the American cultural landscape may provide valuable insight into why "Amadeus" rocked its way to the top like it did. In 1984, the hit film *Amadeus* came to American theaters. The film, a biopic about Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, found success at the box office and grossed over $50 million domestic.[41] For comparison, *The Terminator,* which was also released in 1984, grossed only about $38 million domestic.[42] The film was obviously popular at the time of its release, and Falco's hit could have very well played off of that popularity. The song was avowedly based on the film and its subject; "Rock Me Amadeus (Salieri Mix)," a version of the song that came out after the initial release, featured a voiceover that narrated important events from Mozart's life.[43] It is not totally uncommon for a song to experience a surge in popularity after being featured in a movie, and while "Rock Me Amadeus" was not explicitly featured, it was likely to have experienced a similar occurrence.

Peter Schilling experienced the inverse of the Nena phenomenon. Originally released as "Major Tom (Völlig losgelöst)," his German track did not perform well internationally in 1982. However, when he released the English "Major Tom (Coming Home)" it became an international hit, entering the Hot 100 in America at number 89 in 1983. The track eventually ascended to number 14 in the country by Christmastime of that year.[44] Later on in 1989, Schilling landed on the Hot 100 again with his English track "The Different Story (World of Lust and Crime)" which peaked at number 61.[45] "Major Tom (Coming Home's)" relation to David Bowie's "Space Oddity" may have impacted its popularity in the United States. With its usage of English, the song is able to retell the story of the titular Major Tom, a story that Americans had heard ten years earlier.[46]

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[40] "Billboard Hot 100," June 21, 1986.
[41] "Amadeus (1984) - Financial Information," The Numbers, accessed November 8, 2023, https://www.the-numbers.com/movie/Amadeus#tab=summary.
[42] "The Terminator (1984) - Financial Information," The Numbers, accessed November 8, 2023, https://www.the-numbers.com/movie/Terminator-The#tab=box-office.
[43] Falco et al., "Rock Me Amadeus (Salieri Mix)," *Falco 3*, Bolland & Bolland, 1985.
[44] "Billboard Hot 100," December 24, 1983.
[45] "Billboard Hot 100," April 29, 1989.
[46] "Billboard Hot 100," April 7, 1973.

Each of these artists present varying degrees of clarity to the questions surrounding American attitudes toward West German music in the 1970's and 1980's. Sometimes they liked songs to be in German, sometimes they did not. The trend seems to point toward English lyrics giving German artists an edge over their peers in terms of sales and popularity, but some managed to break through the language barrier during the German New Wave. The usage of language seems to lend some insight into why these songs were popular, but there are still standouts like "Rock Me Amadeus" and "99 Luftballoons." What caused these tracks, and by extension the others from this study, to hit in the US? Each of them had logical reasons to succeed given the context surrounding each song. They all connected with American culture in some way. Kraftwerk, anomalous as it was, employed the relatively new (to the pop music scene) technology of the synthesizer, mesmerizing American audiences who longed for something new. Boney M. was active during a time when disco still had mainstream popularity. The Scorpions connected with the American hard rock scene and sang songs about love and sexuality, themes that resonated with the youth of the 1970's and 1980's. Nena's "99 Luftballoons" spoke to tensions about the Cold War, but it is hard to tell whether or not the message got across on the German language track, which was the version that made it to number two on the charts. Falco's hit about Mozart rode on the coattails of an immensely popular film at the time. Peter Schilling's track called back to a song that had already been a hit for a decade by the time of its release.

These are all logical, contextual reasons for why these West German artists and their music became popular in the United States. It's easy to see the cultural connection between West Germany and America during a time when the US was trying to keep its friends close and its enemies far far away from the citizenry. Not to mention the already historic American military and government presence within Germany by the time this study is examining.[47] Even more than that, the United States has always had a historically German population, especially among its early immigrants.[48] Again, these are all very plausible reasons for why this music was popular when it was, but there is a crucial piece missing from this analysis that,

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[47] Mary Fulbrook, *A History of Germany, 1918-2020: The Divided Nation* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2021), 228.

[48] Frederick C. Luebke, "Three Centuries of Germans in America," essay, in *Germans in the New World Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1999), 157–89.

*Credit is due to my colleague and friend, Chloe Dobecki, for first giving me the idea to look into musicology as a possible explanation for this phenomenon.

when brought into consideration, will clarify the issue of American perceptions of West German music.

Very rarely will a person listen to a piece of music because of its connection to the outside world. For those cases that did, the above analysis should be sufficient. However, more often than not a person will listen to a piece of music simply because they think it sounds good. Of course, there is an astronomical amount of subjectivity involved in determining what makes a song "good." In fact, in all practicality it may be *solely* a matter of subjectivity in determining what makes a song "good." There has, however, been a fair amount of research into the subjective portion of the musical listening experience, which is where this study takes a turn from the historical to the scientific. While scientists cannot really measure and describe what makes a song "good," they can measure and describe how people determine such a thing. Musicology* and psychology intersected long before the first artist in this study, Boney M., even made it onto the *Billboard* chart, and by the time that the German New Wave reached American the two sciences had a respectable amount of research and literature at the focal point of their intersection. In 1978, English psychologist and musician John Booth Davies released *The Psychology of Music*, a text devoted toward "a psychologist's view of music, rather than a musician's view of psychology."[49] Davies' argument concerning musical preference lays the foundation for understanding Don Shewey's comment about Nena's music being "utterly undistinguished, a swirl of routine synth pop."

Music is a type of medium for the conveyance of information. It may not fit within the everyday, working definition, but the chords of a guitar and the beat of the drum are information. When humans receive this information there is an active attempt on the part of the brain to organize and make sense of it. Much like viewing the beads on a necklace as part of the whole, as Davies relates, humans take musical information and group it together.[50] He referred to this as "Gestalt psychology," which comes from the human propensity to recognize patterns.[51] Gestalt psychology was a field already established by the time Davies got his foot in the door, but it is crucial toward understanding the larger picture. Within Gestalt psychology when humans organize their incoming information they do so in the simplest manner available; this is known as the "law of Prägnanz."[52] There is a great deal that goes

[49] John Booth Davies, *The Psychology of Music* (London: Hutchinson, 1978), 13.
[50] Ibid., 83.
[51] Ibid., 83.
[52] Davies, *The Psychology of Music*, 83.

into what determines what is "simplest" in the process of Gestalt perception and organization, and even Davies eschewed going into full detail about it, lest he write another book.[53] "Similarity, proximity, inclusiveness, closure, and good continuation" are factors that Davies did cover, and it is easy to see how these could be applied toward the perception of musical information. In addition, the Gestalt process of auditory perception is likewise influenced by "previous experience in organizing."[54]

As auditory information comes in, and the brain attempts to organize it, it does so by attempting to predict the future. This is a subconscious process in which the brain attempts to predict what will happen next following an input stimulus. When it hears a sequence of tones and then organizes them into a group, the brain will try to predict what the next group will sound like. When there is a greater number of possibilities for what the future has in store, it is called "uncertainty."[55] Without getting too deep into the weeds: Davies asserted that futures with a high probability of occurring have a dearth of information, while the inverse is true for futures with a low probability of occurring.[56] The higher the information content, the more originality a set of information has in the eyes of the perceiver. When applied toward music: a song is seen as less original when the listener can predict what they will hear next. Davies' argument connects with this study at the intersection of predictability and preference. When a tune is perceived as highly predictable it is less likely to be preferred by the listener.[57] Inversely, a tune that is so unpredictable would be likewise unpreferred by this hypothetical listener. Davies identified that the interplay between the predictability of a tune and its information content is the tune's relative complexity. Davies' usage of the term "complexity" refers to a tune's information content and predictability. Preference is the result of a balance between the extremes of predictability, and each person possesses a subjective preferred level of complexity. A listener's preferred level of complexity is dependent upon a great many factors, but one of the main factors identified by Davies is the listener's exposure to similar tunes.[58] Preferred level of complexity is fluid, and the more a person hears a tune the more predictable it will become, thus detracting from the

[53] Ibid., 83.
[54] Ibid., 84.
[55] Ibid., 85.
[56] Ibid., 89.
[57] Ibid., 89.
[58] Davies, *The Psychology of Music*, 94.

information it can provide to the listener.[59] Exposure to music from a particular genre plays into this phenomenon, since pieces of music from the same genre by nature are similar to one another.[60] Returning back to Don Shewey's comment, armed now with Davies' research, one can see that Shewey was lamenting the fact that the other tracks on Nena's *Epic* had fallen outside of his preferred level of complexity. In all likelihood he was not conscious of this phenomenon, but when viewed through a musical psychological lens this is what occurred.

Additional research has added to Davies' scholarship in recent years. Researchers from the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers conducted a study in 2018 where they analyzed metrics for determining music popularity and used those metrics to predict future popularity.[61] The study utilized the same methodology as this one, that is the analysis of the *Billboard* Hot 100, but some of the metrics used do not apply to the period under review. It should be noted, however, that when complexity was used as a metric, performance prediction improved dramatically.[62] In doing so, the IEEE study corroborated the thesis put forth by Davies. Another study from Aimee Petitbon and David Hitchcock at the University of South Carolina in 2022 demonstrated that preference for the pop genre rose sharply in 1983.[63] This information combined with Davies' theory about shifting levels of complexity preference paints a much clearer picture. It took time for Americans to warm up to the pop sound. How does all this pair with this study, though?

Kraftwerk seems to be rather exceptional in the case of this study. They were pioneers in their genre, and most of their popularity can be chalked up to novelty.The acclaim for their album, *Autobahn*, over the demand for singles on the Top 100 speaks to the nature of their electronic music. Americans seemed to prefer to purchase the album more than radio stations preferred to play the music. This is partly because Kraftwerk's music was mostly instrumental. Boney M.'s sound was similar enough to contemporary disco hits, yet they were able to stand apart and

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[59] Ibid., 94-95.
[60] Ibid., 89.
[61] Junghyuk Lee and Jong-Seok Lee, "Music Popularity: Metrics, Characteristics, and Audio-Based Prediction," *IEEE Transactions on Multimedia* 20, no. 11 (2018): 3173–82, https://doi.org/10.1109/tmm.2018.2820903.
[62] Ibid., 3181.
[63] Aimée M. Petitbon and David B. Hitchcock, "What Kind of Music Do You Like? A Statistical Analysis of Music Genre Popularity Over Time," *Journal of Data Science*, 2022, 172, https://doi.org/10.6339/22-jds1040.

pique the interest of listeners. The Scorpions, as this study has already shown, fit in perfectly with American hard rock sound, leading to widespread American acclaim. Their West German origins may have helped them avoid sounding too similar to other hard rock bands at the time, thus increasing the information content for American listeners. The three pop artists of the German New Wave were the most beholden to Davies' theory. "99 Luftballoons" soared toward the top of the chart in 1984, the year after the year that Petitbon and Hitchcock marked as the initial rise of pop. Pop music, especially synth-pop, was the newest sensation to Americans. It soon became mass consumed, and as a result it soon became mass produced. As Davies noted, the more and more a person is exposed to a tune, the more predictable it becomes. The more predictable a tune becomes the less information it has for the listener, and it then runs the risk of falling outside of the listener's preferred level of complexity. Such was the case of Don Shewey, and such was the case of many Americans. "99 Luftballoons," "Rock Me Amadeus," and "Major Tom (Coming Home)" made the grade partly because they were able to distinguish themselves tonally from the ocean of pop music around them. In fact, when compared to some examples of synth-pop, these tracks can stand out quite a bit. Nena's heavy, thudding beats and lack of a chorus make for a song that carries the listener through a piece that does not repeat itself. Falco's track about the Austrian composer features a grand, synthesizer rich intro, reminiscent of a symphony premiering at the concert hall. Falco's vocal style also provides for a sound more akin to the budding hip-hop and rap scenes. The entire song is firmly in touch with its Viennese roots, and Falco's staccato notes combine with the song's grandiose synth-pop sound to set it apart from the plucky sound of contemporary music. The track comes across as serious but not grave, which already distinguishes it from the stereotypical pop sound. "Major Tom (Coming Home)" stands out from the rest for its narrative structure and resounding chorus. Its message of hope in the face of uncertainty speaks volumes to the West German condition, a message that got across to the American people due to the usage of English.

All things considered; these artists were still beholden to the rapidly waning interest of the American public. According to Davies' theory, by making it big on the US charts these artists were exposing their audience to their music with a high enough frequency to drive down their listener's preferred level of complexity. The inundation of the airwaves with similar pop music also contributed to the relatively short-lived popularity of the German New Wave. Electronic and disco music have fallen into respectable niches, which would explain why Kraftwerk and Boney M. did not endure into the mainstream. The Scorpions are still popular to this

day and are featured in popular television programs like *Stranger Things*.[64] This is because rock music has continued to be popular to the American public. The pop artists, however, quickly fell victim to the consequences of market saturation. As Seago explains, pop music, due to its relationship with the synthesizer and other electronic instruments, is much easier to produce with smaller groups or even solo artists.[65] It can be produced quicker and is often backed by a large support group.

What has all this to do with this study? Select pieces of West German music became popular in the United States for a reason. The artists in this study connected with their American audience in some shape or form. They managed to make music that was interesting to their listeners, but some of the music quickly lost its novelty and fell out of public favor. Each artist brought a portion of their German (or Austrian) identity to the table, and that identity influenced the type of music they made, sometimes to their benefit. Researchers have proposed that by examining what makes a song popular they can produce music that caters to those interests, but that would simply cause a repeat of the New Wave movement crashing into the shore.[66] Instead, this study and the results thereof are useful toward understanding how the wider historical context influenced American perceptions of West German music. This study has also demonstrated how aspects of musical preference are in fact quite universal and how Americans from the 1970's and 1980's were not as ethnocentric as cultural imperialism proponents might believe.

This study's findings have the potential to bring lovers of music together, rather than apart. Davies' theory, strengthened by his own evidence, empirical data from contemporary researchers, and our own lived experiences show us that music contains so much more than just the language it's sung in. Exposure to music from foreign cultures, the very thing that happened to audiences in the 1970's and 1980's, warms us up to those cultures, erasing the lines of division that we have drawn for ourselves.

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[64] Matthew Duffer and Ross Duffer, "Chapter One: MADMAX," *Stranger Things*, October 27, 2017.
[65] Seago, "Where Hamburgers Sizzle," 133.
[66] Lee and Lee, "Music Popularity," 3173.

# The Displaced Person Question: A Turning Point in the Polish American Congress' Lobbying Activities, 1944-1948

*By Wiktoria Zawadzka*

"Please permit me to suggest that representative Ed. Gosset has been misinformed on a number of points concerning displaced persons." Stanislaw Jaworski, a former Polish underground operations officer and United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) employee, wrote this statement for the *Chicago Tribune*'s opinion editorial section titled "Voice of the People" in July of 1947. Jaworski, a recent immigrant to the United States, was protesting the backlash against the Displaced Persons (DP) Act, which, after a devastating war, would have admitted 200,000 displaced persons into the United States between the years of 1948 and 1950.[1] Some United States senators perceived DPs as the "refuse of Europe," halting the progress of the DP Act.[2] Jaworski, an advocate for Polish DPs, asserted "it is out of my gratitude to this country... and out of sympathy for the displaced persons still in camps who I know are worthy of becoming American citizens, that I write to you on their behalf." [3] Who were the Polish DPs? Why should the United States have let them into their borders? Who was advocating on their behalf?

A variety of lobbying agencies advocated on behalf of the Polish DPs, one of them being the Polish American Congress (PAC). Polish DPs were one of the largest groups of non-repatriable peoples in the British and American-occupied zones of Germany, which is one of the reasons why they are the subject of this paper.[4] In addition to this, the scholarship focusing on Polish-American lobbying efforts is minimal and must be further developed to tell the story of DPs and American efforts on their behalf in the most accurate way possible. To do this, my paper focuses on the efforts of the PAC to liberalize U.S. immigration law to allow an increased number of Poles into the country by means of the DP Act. I focus specifically on the PAC's "Report to Secretary Byrnes on Conditions in Polish Displaced Persons

[1] Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, *The Exile Mission: The Polish Political Diaspora and Polish Americans, 1939-1956* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004), 112.
[2] Ibid., 106-109.
[3] Stanislaw Jaworski, "Voice of the People: Displaced Persons," *Chicago Tribune*, July 20, 1947.
[4] Theresa Kurk McGinley, "A Cry for Human Rights: The Polish Displaced Persons Problem and United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1951," (PhD diss., University of Houston, 1995), 17.

Camps in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany," referring to it as the "Report on Conditions," and claiming that it was their most fruitful effort in their endeavors to liberalize immigration law.

To understand the need for liberalization in immigration law in the United States, one must first understand the plight of the DPs. The end of World War II left millions of people uprooted and wandering ravaged streets throughout Europe in need of food, medicine, and shelter. The refugees who remained in Germany, labeled displaced persons, came from several places in Europe such as Russia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Ukraine, Poland, and others. Many of them had survived concentration camps, had been prisoners of war, or slave laborers. Others had come to Germany to flee the Soviet army or to work in German industry or agriculture. Some had come to Germany after the end of the war to escape violent postwar antisemitism in Poland. By the summer of 1945, these refugees were placed in displaced persons camps organized throughout Europe by UNRRA, an international relief agency administered by the United Nations and founded in 1943.[5]

The camps were segregated by ethnicity and created with the intention to quickly repatriate their inhabitants based on interallied agreements such as those made at the Yalta Conference of 1945. The agreements made at Yalta required the UNRRA's full cooperation with the Soviet Union, which called for all people who were citizens of countries that were under Soviet influence to return home. This included Poles as the agreements made at conferences such as Yalta reorganized Poland politically and territorially, turning it into a Soviet satellite state. This was in addition to political developments in Poland during the final months of the war, namely the Warsaw Uprising and the creation of the Lublin Government, which was the Soviet-backed government newly installed in Poland. Nevertheless, many Poles did not wish to return to their home country. This was due to anti-communist attitudes, fears of being sent to a Soviet labor camp because of war crimes committed, or the lack of a home to return to in Poland.[6] For these reasons, many DPs preferred protection in the West, in countries like the United States.

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[5] Haim Genizi, *America's Fair Share: The Admission and Resettlement of Displaced Persons*, 1945-1952 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993), 16-20.
[6] Richard C Lukas, *Bitter Legacy: Polish-American Relations in the Wake of World War II*, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1982), 1-2;
Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia for the Cause of the Displaced Persons," Polish American Studies 58, no. 1 (2001): 58. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20148599;

Unfortunately, due to American legislation such as the Immigration Act of 1924, only 6,524 Poles were admitted into the United States annually between the years of 1924 and 1948. This act set quotas on the number of immigrants that could come from each European nation, and the quota for Poles was not always met, meaning that only a limited number of displaced Poles could be allowed into the United States. This quota system, established after the end of WWI, was largely based on discriminatory fears against Eastern Europeans and Jews. Since Poles were the largest group of non-repatriable displaced persons in the British and American-occupied zones of Germany, lobbying groups such as the PAC believed it was necessary to change this law.[7]

Unable to find refuge in the U.S., many Poles remained in UNRRA camps. Considering repatriation to be the best course of action, if not the only one, the UNRRA encouraged this by offering larger food rations and new clothes to those who chose to return to Poland. In addition to this, they deprived DPs of most forms of cultural life, such as newspapers or education, and harassed those who stayed in camps with constant resettlement and screenings to persuade them to return home.[8] This practice of coerced repatriation, created by the then Executive Director of the UNRAA, Fiorello LaGuardia, was known as Operation Carrot in which "carrots," or rewards were used to persuade DPs to return home. [9]

At the hands of the UNNRA, about eight million people of different nationalities were repatriated, two million of whom Soviet authorities deemed to be counterrevolutionaries, and felt their fears become reality when they were sent to *gulags* as punishment.[10] When stories of coercive repatriation broke out and distinguishing between the nationalities of those who originated from countries that had been territorially reorganized after the Yalta conference turned ambiguous, it became paramount for a specialized agency to be formed to replace the UNNRA. In

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Haim Genizi, *America's Fair Share*, 20;
Davis Nasaw, *The Last Million: Europe's Displaced Persons from World War to Cold War* (New York: Penguin Press, 2020), 211.

[7] Theresa Kurk McGinley, "A Cry for Human Rights," X-15;
Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, *The Exile Mission*, 245.

[8] Joanna Wojdon, *White and Red Umbrella: The Polish American Congress in the Cold War Era, 1944-1988* (Reno, NV: Helena History Press LLC, 2015), 101.

[9] Davis Nasaw, *The Last Million*, 261-265.

[10] Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 30;
Theresa Kurk McGinley, "A Cry for Human Rights," 102.

addition to this, the mandates that created the UNRRA were set to expire in January of 1946, but with at least one million people still needing assistance in the camps, the need for a new, specialized agency was reinforced.[11] In 1947, the International Relief Organization (IRO) was formed to mitigate those issues. By this time, about one million displaced persons remained in the camps. They were encouraged to resettle, but not coerced into repatriation. [12]

After the formation of the IRO, thousands of Poles remained in the displacement camps in Germany as they had limited options for resettlement. With little money to go around, the conditions of these camps were far from optimal; they were fenced in with barbed wire, lacked sufficient food supplies, and provided inadequate medical care.[13] Familiar with this situation from photographs, news reports, and the testimonies of survivors, the Polish-American community, called Polonia, was eager to give aid to DPs. Aware of the complex political dimensions of the displaced persons question, Polish-Americans knew that this issue was forbidding. To give displaced Poles a possibility of resettlement in the U.S. groups such as the PAC protested American immigration law and lobbied for change in the matter. The PAC, a large political umbrella organization representing Polonia, was founded in 1944 to lobby the American government on behalf of Polish interests. From about 1945, the PAC flooded the media, wrote frequently to President Truman and Congress, and even visited DP camps. This has led scholars to argue that the PAC, alongside other lobbying groups such as the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons (CCDP), the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JJDC), or the National Catholic Resettlement Council (NCRC), was partially responsible for the passing of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.[14] While I agree with scholars on this point, I do not believe that historians have placed enough emphasis on the PAC's "Report to Secretary Byrnes on Conditions in Polish Displaced Persons Camps in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany."

When historians wrote about the DPs in the 1980s and 1990s, the activities of Polish-American lobbying groups were disregarded. Focusing on sectarian lobbying agencies such as the NCRC, Haim Genizi, author of *America's Fair Share:*

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[11] Theresa Kurk McGinley, "A Cry for Human Rights," 99-112;
Davis Nasaw, *The Last Million*, 275-276.
[12] Ibid., 99-112.
[13] Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 57.
[14] Theresa Kurk McGinley, "A Cry for Human Rights," X;
Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 29;
Joanna Wojdon, *White and Red Umbrella*, 18-51.

*The Admission and Resettlement of Displaced Persons, 1945-1952,* argues that America did its "fair share" when admitting displaced persons into the United States. He asserts that the DP Act was good enough since the United States was able to admit twice as many people during the post-war period than they did during the war, despite it only being one-third of the time. In Genizi's text, he furthers the work of historian Leonard Dinnerstein, author of *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust.* This was one of the first comprehensive volumes on the American response to the DP issue, but, as Genizi points out, Dinnerstein fails to consider the lobbying activities of major sectarian groups, such as the NCNR, the United Service for New Americans, or the American Friends Service Committee.[15]

When analyzing the American response to the DP question, both Genizi and Dinnerstein fail to mention the activities of Polish-American lobbying groups. The exploration of their lobbying did not occur until the late 1990s, when scholars such as Anna Dorota Jaroszynka-Kirchmann and Theresa Kurk McGinley asserted that the PAC was also responsible for the transformation in immigration law, in addition to the United States Government and sectarian lobbying groups. Jaroszynska, author of multiple articles and books on Polish-American topics, states that, although the contributions of Jewish lobbying groups and the CCPD are undeniable, the efforts of American Polonia to amend immigration law were an example of highly effective lobbying. She maintains that the PAC advanced the cause of DPs successfully because of its savvy lobbying practices. Some of the PAC's strategies were their use of personal connections whenever possible, a lack of restriction to party lines, and an appeal to a common ethnic background.[16] McGinley and Jaroszynska agree that the PAC's efforts helped ensure a change in immigration law, but they differ when determining their most critical efforts. While Jaroszynska claims it was the PAC's political savvy, McGinley points to their ability to consistently flood newspapers with information advocating for Polish DPs. [17]

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[15] Leonard Dinnerstein, *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust (*New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), IX-X;
Haim Genizi, *America's Fair Share*, IX-XI;
It is important to note that both Genizi and Dinnerstein were critical of the DP Act of 1948 for being discriminatory against Jews due to its overly restrictive requirements for Jewish peoples which hampered their ability to immigrate to the United States. This continues to be a common understanding amongst historians today.
[16] Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 61.
[17] Theresa Kurk McGinley, "Embattled Polonia Polish-Americans and World War II," East European Quarterly 37, no. 3 (2003): 341.

On the contrary, historian Joanna Wojdon maintains that the PAC could take credit for the special provisions for former Polish soldiers from Great Britain which they lobbied for, but not the DP Act as a whole. Furthermore, she stresses that the PAC did not act alone, but rather they collaborated with organizations such as the CCDP and Jewish lobbies. Wojdon, author of *White and Red Umbrella: The Polish American Congress in the Cold War Era*, is one of the only historians to meticulously describe the PAC's goals and activities under President Charles Rozmarek, making her particularly credible on this manner. Jaroszynska and McGinley both consider other lobbying organizations; therefore, these three authors would likely agree that although the PAC was not solely responsible for the DP Act, it did engage in some successful lobbying. [18]

While the PAC's political savvy and ability to flood the media were both critically important for their successful lobbying, not enough emphasis has been placed upon their "Report to Secretary Byrnes on Conditions in Polish Displaced Persons Camps in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany." This report was created in 1946 to argue for the need to allow displaced Poles into the United States and define the extent of forced repatriation and subpar conditions in UNRRA camps. The PAC had been lobbying the United States government to investigate the camps and corroborate or contradict these claims for about a year prior. When these demands went unanswered, the PAC took matters into their own hands. In the fall of 1946, president of the PAC, Charles Rozmarek, two of his vice presidents, Ignacy Nurkiewicz and Frank Januszewski, and a representative of the United Polish Press of America, took a thirteen-day tour of Polish DP Camps in the American and British occupied zones of Germany. The Report on Conditions was published after this tour; it detailed the state of the camps, the methods of coercion observed and listed the PAC's demands for the United States government to alleviate the situation. Furthermore, during this tour, the PAC was able to obtain evidence of forced repatriation in the form of documents such as area employment meetings and team letters. At this point in time, the PAC was able to report on the dissemination of communist propaganda, coercive methods of repatriation, and general mistreatment of Poles by the UNNRA. [19] Considering the meticulousness of this report, was it the PAC's most fruitful lobbying effort for the DP Act?

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[18] Joanna Wojdon, *White and Red Umbrella*, 51-127.
[19] Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 43. Joanna Wojdon, *White and Red Umbrella*, 102.

Here, I will argue that in combination with their political savvy and persistent media presence, the PAC's Report on Conditions was not only a turning point in their lobbying efforts but their most effective endeavor for liberalizing immigration law. To do this, I will begin by detailing the lobbying efforts that led up to the report. For this, I will look at documents such as letters or telegrams sent to Congress and President Truman, appeals to allow DPs into the United States, and the evidence they used to illustrate the unacceptable conditions in Polish DP camps. Secondly, I will analyze how newspapers, such as the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Times* reported on the report of conditions. In this way, I will highlight the media blitz caused by the PAC. Lastly, I will examine how politicians reacted to the Report on Conditions, and how this created the necessary political climate for the passing of the DP Act.

The story of the PAC's lobbying efforts started before WWII had ended, as early as 1944. At this point, DP camps had not yet been opened, but enough German military forces had been expelled and Polish territories to merit the need for relief.[20] On September 14, 1944, Charles Rozmarek sent a telegram to the chairperson of the UNRRA, Herbert Lehman, urging him to take advantage of relief action offered by American and inter-allied agencies. Although the PAC was not fighting for DP refuge in the west here, as this issue was not yet pressing, this telegram highlights that post-war issues were at the forefront of President Rozmarek's mind. Moreover, Rozmarek emphasized the deep concern felt within Polonia for Polish peoples, stating that they were willing "to do everything, so that the sixth winter of the present war … may not find them without help." [21] This underscores his use of public opinion to sway the perspectives of politicians, in this case, Herbert Lehman. This strategy continued in the PAC's lobbying history through 1948 and is essential to recall when considering their use of the media to sway public opinions, which in turn influenced politicians.

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[20] Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "Patriotism, Responsibility, and the Cold War: Polish Schools in DP Camps in Germany, 1945-1951," *The Polish Review* 47, no. 1 (2002): 35- 36, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25779305.

[21] Polish American Congress, "Telegram: Addressed to Herbert Lehman, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Washington D.C., under date of September 14, 1944," in *Selected Documents; A Compilation of Selected Resolutions, Declarations, Memorials, Memorandums, Letters, Telegrams, Press Statements, Etc., in Chronological Order, Showing Various Phases of Polish American Congress Activities, 1944-1948* (Chicago: Polish American Congress, 1948), 27.

With the end of the war in 1945, the UNRRA had fully established DP camps. At this point, the Allied forces were burdened with caring for over seven million DPs. Military forces herded DPs into ad hoc camps, ones that were established in bombed buildings, warehouses, German barracks, and even former concentration camps. The UNRRA, responsible for the provision of health and welfare services, was quickly unable to keep its commitments due to a serious lack of personnel, transportation, and mail services.[22] The PAC learned of this situation through private letters, reports, and correspondence with Polish organizations in Germany.[23] One of these reports was released during the summer of 1945 by Francis Swietlik, a nationally recognized leader of Polonia and Censor, a policy-making position, of the Polish National Alliance, a large Polish-American fraternal group. Based on Swietlik's report, it was conclusive that Poles in UNRRA camps suffered from inadequate food portions, medical supplies, and educational services.[24] From this point forward, the DP issue occupied a critical position in the PAC's lobbying activities, which is evident from an increase in said activities and news coverage of their pursuits.

While Swietlik's report investigated the conditions in Polish DP camps, a famous report on the conditions of Jewish camps was created by Earl Harrison and dubbed the "Harrison report." The Harrison report was requested by the Truman administration after accusations of the mistreatment of Jews in DP camps arose. During the summer of 1945, Harrison was dispatched to investigate this issue. He eventually produced a report that presented the tragedy of Jewish DPs in such a disturbing way that it prompted Truman to take measures to alleviate the situation, such as changes to the administration of camps in the American-occupied zone of Germany.[25] Directly referencing this report and its reception, Rozmarek wrote an appeal to President Truman on October 8th, 1945, requesting him to conduct a similar investigation into the situation of Polish DPs. In this appeal, Rozmarek compared DP camps to concentration camps where Poles could not correspond with relatives, seek employment, or receive mail or packages from the United States, claiming that forcing repatriation to a Sovietized Poland was "tantamount to giving them the ticket

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[22] Genizi, *America's Fair Share*, 19.
[23] Joanna Wojdon, *White and Red Umbrella*, 102.
[24] J. Gordon Hylton, "Francis Swietlik, Marquette Law School, and Polish War Relief," *Marquette Law School History* (October 18, 2010), Francis Swietlik, Marquette Law School, and Polish War Relief – Marquette University Law School Faculty Blog; Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 32.
[25] Genizi, "America's Fair Share," 67-68.

to death." Disgusted with these conditions, Rozmarek demanded that the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees conduct an investigation of Polish DP camps and produce a report similar to that of Harrison's. [26]

Truman's response came seventeen days later, on October 25, 1945. It was dismissive of the claims made by Rozmarek, asserting that the policy of the United States was not in line with forced repatriation and that military authorities were making efforts to improve living conditions. Although Truman assured Rozmarek that it was expected of organizations collaborating with military authorities to provide the necessary welfare, the PAC was unsatisfied.[27] On November 7, 1945, Rozmarek sent another letter thanking Truman for the information and the reassurance of incoming aid for displaced Poles. For the remainder of this letter, Rozmarek denounced the agreements made at the Yalta conference, such as those which politically and territorially reorganized Poland. [28] As Truman never responded to the second letter, it is evident that Rozmarek's pleas for an investigation into DP camps did not come to fruition.

In December of 1945, less than a month after the correspondence between Rozmarek and Truman occurred, the PAC sent a memorandum to Secretary of State James Byrnes. Although this memorandum mostly concerned foreign policy, particularly the agreements made at Yalta, the PAC included a small section that made a dig at the UNRRA. In this memorandum, the PAC declared that the:

"UNRRA was a worthy and necessary effort to save human lives and repair material damage in countries which suffered the worst ravages of war. But its operations have been shamefully abused for political purposes in countries under Soviet occupation, notably in Poland and Jugoslavia. The American people have not been properly informed of this incontestable fact." [29]

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[26] Polish American Congress, "Appeal: To President Truman to alleviate the plight of Polish refugees in Germany, in letter dated October 8, 1945," *Selected Documents*, 67-68.
[27] Polish American Congress, "Letter: The following letter from President Harry S. Truman, dated October 12, 1945, was in reply to a letter from the Polish American Congress, dated October 8, 1945, in which an appeal was made to the President to act against the forced repatriation of Polish displaced persons," *Selected Documents*, 68-69.
[28] Polish American Congress, "Letter: To President Truman, on November 17, 1945, in which the Polish American Congress took occasion to bring out several important points relative to the Polish situation in general," *Selected Documents*, 69-72.
[29] Polish American Congress, "Memorial: Addressed to Secretary of State Byrnes on American foreign policy," *Selected Documents*, 77.

This memorandum publicly revealed the PAC's point of view on the UNRRA for the first time; that it was a political tool used by the Soviet Union. This sentiment became one of the PAC's main arguments against the UNRRA, eventually diminishing its public image.

Rozmarek continued to voice his discontentment with the UNRRA and his desire for an investigation into Polish DP camps throughout 1945 and 1946 in the form of petitions to the Senate and House of Representatives and a letter demanding the end of forced repatriation addressed to the Executive Director of the UNRRA, Fiorello LaGuardia. [30] With numerous appeals going unanswered, the PAC took the opportunity to gather evidence on Polish DP camps in the American and British-occupied zones of Germany in the fall of 1946. In September of 1946, Rozmarek and his team of high-ranking PAC members and journalists attended the Paris Peace Conference. On September 11th, 1946, this delegation met with the United States Secretary of State James F. Byrnes at the Hotel Meurice in Paris to discuss their intent to visit Polish UNRRA camps. Evidently in support of their expedition, Byrnes requested the delegation to file a brief report of their observations of the conditions in the camps. Thus, came about the PAC's "Report to Secretary Byrnes on Conditions in Polish Displaced Persons Camps in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany." [31]

The first public mention of the PAC's tour of the DP camps came in the form of a press statement made by Rozmarek on September 12, 1946. This statement addressed more than twenty American, British and French correspondents and marked the beginning of the media blitz which was manufactured by their tour. Rozmarek made it clear to these correspondents that Polish DPs were being denied basic rights and that they deserved American aid due to their inability to return home. Furthermore, he argued that their inability to return home was in part caused by American agreements made at Yalta which allowed for Poland to be placed under Soviet influence. At the end of his statement, he announced their tour.[32] Shortly

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[30] Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 37-43.

[31] Polish American Congress, "Report: To Secretary Byrnes on conditions in Polish Displaced Persons camps in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany, presented in Paris, October 11, 1946," *Selected Documents*, 99.

[32] Polish American Congress, "Press Statement: On September 12, 1946, in Paris, when President Rozmarek addressed more than a score of American, British, French and other correspondents. This was the first of four interviews given to the press in Europe," *Selected Documents*, 98.

thereafter, media coverage from American and Polish-American sources proliferated. On September 18, 1946, the *New York Times* reported on the PAC's endeavors and goals. The unnamed author of this article, clearly articulated the aims of the PAC's tour: "three representatives of the ... [PAC] will leave Paris this week to inspect Polish [DP] camps in the hope of arranging a group guarantee to enable a substantial number of … Polish expatriates to emigrate to the United States." [33] Evident from this quote, the main goal of this tour was to persuade politicians to liberalize immigration law to allow for the immigration of Polish expatriates to the U.S..

A few days before the submission of the report to Secretary Byrnes, Rozmarek cabled a telegram to his home office in Chicago from Europe containing his initial reactions to the conditions of Polish UNRRA camps. The contents of this telegram were reported by the *Chicago Tribune* on October 6, 1946, effectively giving the public an indication of what would be included in the final report. In this telegram, Rozmarek commented on the embargo of American Polish language newspapers in the DP camps while "Warsaw regime propaganda" was freely distributed among the DPs. Furthermore, he noted the unwarranted shifting of Poles from camp to camp and the unjust screening and rescreening they faced. Lastly, Rozmarek claimed that DPs begged him and his delegation to "intercede on their behalf to relieve them of the pressure forcing them to return to a Poland dominated and ruled by a foreign totalitarian power." [34]

This form of reporting was one way in which the PAC was able to heighten the emotions of the public, hence persuading political figures, who were concerned with maintaining their reputations and gaining ample votes, of the importance of their cause. Polonia then had significant leverage over the Democratic Party; most Poles were members of the Democratic Party until the Yalta decision in 1944, where the West, including the United States under a Democratic president, gave up Poland to the Soviet Union, turning American Poles to the Republican Party. This made the Democrats recognize the impact of the Polish vote and begin efforts to increase their

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[33] "Refugee Aid Sought by Polish-Americans," *New York Times,* Sep 18, 1946, https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/refugee-aid-sought-polish-americans/docview/107564415/se-2.
[34] "Raps U. S. Care Given Poles in Camps For DP'S." *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Oct 06, 1946, https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/raps-u-s-care-given-poles-camps-dps/docview/177243473/se-2.

popularity with Poles.[35] Considering the importance of their vote at this time, it is clear that the PAC had leverage with politicians.

On October 11, 1946, the Report on Conditions was submitted to Secretary Byrnes. Secretary Byrnes, who requested a brief survey, received a lengthy and specialized report divided into three sections, first examining the treatment of civilians, then military personnel, and lastly, their three-point program meant to remedy the situation. Many of the grievances against the UNRRA regarded their treatment of DPs and echoed that of Rozmarek's telegram to his home office reported on in the *Chicago Tribune.* Some of the other issues covered in this section concerned schools being closed by the UNRRA, a lack of freedom for the Polish clergy in camps, the mistreatment of journalists, and civic groups not receiving legal status in camps. While some of these issues pertained to all camps, many were unique to Polish DP camps. For example, many of these issues were caused by the Lublin Government according to the report. For example, the report claimed that all educational services provided by the UNRRA had to be supervised, conducted, and approved by the Lublin Government. In addition to this, the report stated that Polish journalists reporting in opposition to repatriation, or the Lublin Government were deprived of food allotments.

Their recommendations for the United States government to alleviate this situation provided a conclusion for the report:

"1. ...We recommend the establishment of a Commission by the American Military Authorities to whom the Polish Civic Organizations can appeal their grievances to safeguard their economic and cultural interests. 2. We demand a thorough investigation of the UNRRA activities by the United States Department of State and the Congress of the United States. UNNRA should be confined to its proper duties of feeding and clothing the Displaced Persons. But the prosecution of indirect coercive methods of repatriation has made it a political tool for purposes not originally intended... 3. We recommend that the Displaced Persons who cannot return to their country of origin, should be evacuated through emigration to the western hemisphere. The United States should admit 150,000 Displaced Persons to the United States proper and Alaska. The Polish quotas were not exhausted during

[35] Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 52-53.

the war years. A good example set by our country would encourage the countries in the western hemisphere to absorb the balance."[36]

In short, the PAC recommended the formation of a commission organized by American military authorities to whom Polish DP organizations could appeal their grievances; a thorough investigation of the UNRRA's activities in DP camps by the State Department, and the admission of 150,000 DPs to the U.S. and Alaska.

To substantiate the claims made in the Report on Conditions and to give weight to their demands, the PAC collected documented evidence during their visit to Germany. [37] These documents allowed the PAC to sufficiently support the demands made in the conclusion of their report with data and facts, giving the Report on Conditions durability and meticulousness, lending to its success. Examples of these documents include a team letter and an area employment meeting. The team letter, dated September 25, 1946, was on the topic of "organized cultural activities in Polish DP camps" and stated that "all educational, recreational and other cultural activities are to be discontinued in all camps caring for one hundred or more Polish Displaced Persons." [38] Furthermore, the employment meeting, held on October 14, 1946, concerned the employment of Polish DPs. The letter stated:

"Do not employ Poles – repatriate them, as they must go home... Repatriation is the most important thing in UNRRA at present. Take all Poles out of work projects and repatriate. Unless he or she has a repatriation date, then they can work until date to go to Poland; essential to get them to Poland; no such thing as an unrepatriable Poles... Hire outsiders, even Germans, to replace essential Poles, but fire Poles and get them home." [39]

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[36] Polish American Congress, "Report: To Secretary Byrnes on conditions in Polish Displaced Persons camps in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany, presented in Paris, October 11, 1946," *Selected Documents*, 99-102.
[37] Polish American Congress, "Report: To Secretary Byrnes on conditions in Polish Displaced Persons camps in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany, presented in Paris, October 11, 1946," *Selected Documents*, 102.
[38] Polish American Congress, "UNRRA District Office NO. 1 2b Uhlandstrasse, Stuttgart Ref:S/Men/WMC September 25, 1946 Team Letter NO. 135," *Selected Documents*, 115-117.
[39] Polish American Congress, "Subject: Area Employment Meeting To: Area Team Director," *Selected Documents*, 115-117.

These documents alleged the misconduct of the UNRRA, gave the Report on Conditions verifiability, and stressed the need for investigation and the opening of the borders, putting pressure on the United States government.

Not only do these documents verify the mistreatment of Poles at the hands of the UNRRA, but the organization's repatriation policy substantiates these claims as well. Operation Carrot worked in collaboration with the Lublin government to repatriate displaced Poles, effectively cutting the number of non-Jewish Poles receiving aid from the UNRRA in half. To accomplish this, the UNRRA doled out rewards for those who decided to return home, such as new clothes and additional food rations. The charges made against the UNRRA greatly undermined their reputation, with sensational headlines accusing them of working with the Soviet Union, effectively hindering the progress of Operation Carrot. At this point, even Catholic Church leadership joined the protest by publishing editorials in the Jesuit magazine titled *America* that called for a thorough investigation into the UNRRA's activities. [40] LaGuardia, Executive Director of the UNRRA, attempted to correct these allegations at a luncheon of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations before four hundred people. A *New York Times* article, published on the 24th of October 1946, about two weeks after the submission of the report on conditions, reported:

"Mrs. Charles Rozmarek... asked Mr. La Guardia about reports that displaced Poles were living in overcrowded conditions and were underfed. 'I'm glad you've got that out of your system. I hope you feel better,' Mr. La Guardia replied. He said that people all over Germany were living several families to a room... As for food, the United States Army was charged with feeding displaced Poles... To an unidentified questioner who asked why UNRRA was 'helping satellite countries under the Soviet Union' the UNRRA chief replied: 'The person who says that is lying; he knows he is lying, and he's selling his lies at 3 cents a copy.'" [41]

This response, while accurate in identifying a variety of factors such as the post-war conditions in Germany and the UNRRA's role in administering aid, used manipulative tactics to make the PAC's claims seem outrageous. By accusing organizations of lying and acting brazenly towards Mrs. Rozmarek, LaGuardia attempted to steer the audience in the opposite direction of the assertions made

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[40] Davis Nasaw, *The Last Million*, 261-267.

[41] "La Guardia Denies UNRRA Abuses DP'S: Replies at Chicago Luncheon to Charges Organization is Mistreating Poles Dispatch is Quotes." *New York Times,* Oct 24, 1946, https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/la-guardia-denies-unrra-abuses-dps/docview/107655747/se-2.

against him, with little evidence to support his statements. By this time, it was too late for LaGuardia to pour oil on troubled waters as the UNRRA was soon to be dissolved and the media reporting on his organization would continue.

At this time, Polish and Polish-American news sources persistently covered the Report on Conditions. Rozmarek's claims against the UNRRA, his demands for an investigation of Polish DP camps in the American-occupied zone of Germany, and his call for the liberalization of immigration law to allow Polish DPs into the United States were being reverberated by the media. Headlines such as "American Poles ask Congress Probe of UNRRA: Chicago Leader Charges Group is Red Tool" or "UNRRA Accused of Persecuting Pole Refugees: Chicago Group Says It Forces Them Home" were common to see in the *Chicago Tribune* or the *New York Times* in the months following the submission of the report. [42] Similar headlines were seen in popular American Polish language news sources such as *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, published in Chicago, and *Nowy Swiat*, which was published in New York. This persistent news reporting educated the public on the findings of the report of conditions, swaying their perception of the issue to agree with the need for DPs to be admitted into the United States.

The PAC publicized their findings in addition to the media. On the 2nd of December in 1946, the PAC held a rally in Chicago and preached about the findings of their report to 8,000 people. Claiming that the UNRRA was being used as a tool by the Soviet Union for political persecution, that DPs were treated worse than cattle, and that they were subject to nightly raids, unwarranted arrests, and searches, Rozmarek made his message clear to this audience. [43] Rallies such as these attract support and generally inspire people, making these events a practical way to educate

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[42] "UNRRA Accused of Persecuting Pole Refugees: Chicago Group says it Forces Them Home," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Oct 20, 1946, https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/unrra-accused-persecuting-pole-refugees/docview/177401420/se-2; "American Poles ask Congress Probe of UNRRA: Chicago Leader Charges Group is Red Tool," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Oct 12, 1946, https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/american-poles-ask-congress-probe unrra/docview/177197699/se-2.

[43] "Russians use UNRRA as Club, Says Rozmarek: Polish Congress Chief Addresses 8,000," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Dec 02, 1946, https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/russians-use-unrra-as-club-says-rozmarek/docview/177228718/se-2.

the population on your cause. In addition, this rally was reported by the *Chicago Tribune* furthering their public reach. By educating the people of Chicago on their observations from Polish DP camps in this way, the PAC was able to create a climate that supported liberalizing immigration law, therefore impacting politicians, and persuading them to make the changes desired by their constituents.

Events such as the rally mentioned above, and the PAC's effective use of the media successfully steered politicians in their favor. On December 9th of 1946, Governor Green of Illinois and Mayor Kelly of Chicago attended a testimonial dinner for Rozmarek, among 1000 other guests, where he delivered an address reporting on his observations in DP camps. With Kelly lauding Rozmarek as a "'great citizen'" and Green asserting that "one way of providing practical relief … would be to amend immigration laws," both politicians made their stances on the Polish issue clear.[44] Not only is the level of attendance impressive, but it also highlights the impact that public support had on the political climate. With the public educated on the DP issue and in support of Rozmarek's demands, the political climate was steered in the necessary direction to amend immigration law.

Another politician who was convinced of the need to amend immigration law by the PAC's Report on Conditions was William Stratton, a Republican and an Illinois congressperson. Stratton became the governor of Illinois in 1953, but before this, he was the first sponsor of the DP Act of 1948. The Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons (CCDP), another lobbying organization in favor of amending immigration law to allow DPs into the United States, proposed the first version of the DP Act to Congress during the summer of 1947 with Stratton as its sponsor. Stratton, a young and inexperienced representative, was chosen to sponsor the bill because no one else had volunteered.[45] While historians like Leonard Dinnerstein attribute Stratton's motivations to a feeling of kinship between himself and his constituents, Stratton emphasized different reasoning.[46] At a Polish Constitution Day Rally in Chicago on May 5th, 1952, Stratton directly credited Rozmarek and the PAC's

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[44] "Demands Truth on Conditions in European Lands: Green Urges Aid for Displaced Poles," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Dec 09, 1946, https://go.openathens.net/redirector/illinoisstate.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/demands-truth-on-conditions-european-lands/docview/177210250/se-2.
[45] Davis Nasaw, *The Last Million*, 302-306.
[46] Leonard Dinnerstein, *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust,* 132;
Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 48.

Report on Conditions as his inspiration for sponsoring the first DP bill before an audience of 150,000. During his speech, he recalled the first time he met Rozmarek:

"'I was so impressed with Mr. Rozmarek's eloquent plea on behalf of the displaced persons – and what he said then was first-hand information for he just had returned from a six-week tour of Polish DP camps in Germany – that I vowed to introduce legislation in Congress in favor of admission of DPs into the United States. That was one of my first acts as a Congressman – and all because of the fine case for the Polish displaced persons presented at the Union League Club dinner, by your splendid leader Mr. Charles Rozmarek. Thanks to the efforts of Mr. Rozmarek and others – the desired legislation was passed as the U.S. Displaced Persons Act of 1948.'" [47]

This quote and those from Mayor Kelly and Governor Green highlight the effect that the Report on Conditions had on the political climate at the time. The report's meticulousness and durability reaped fruitful results, as without Stratton, it is inconclusive who would have sponsored the bill.

After choosing a sponsor for the DP bill, debate opened on the congress floor in June of 1947. During this first month of debates, Rozmarek testified to Congress on behalf of the DPs. Being the only person who had visited DP camps in attendance of this testimony, he used his findings to support his demands. Again, this highlights his use of the Report on Conditions to create the necessary political climate to pass the DP Act. During this testimony, Rozmarek not only argued that DPs deserved to seek refuge in the United States due to their love of democracy, but that Polish veterans from England also deserved passage into the country. [48] This proposal was struck down during debates on the first DP Act, passed in 1948, but was included when the amended version of the DP Act was passed in 1950. Amendments made to the DP Act in 1950 allotted for the admission of 18,000 Polish veterans from Great Britain into the United States. This came after a lengthy lobbying process beginning in early 1948, in which the PAC continued to send letters, telegrams, and meet with politicians to argue for their cause. Shortly before the amendment about Polish soldiers was scheduled for discussion and voting in the Senate, a technicality was included that would have not allowed Polish veterans who

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[47] Polish American Congress, *Story of the Polish American Congress and Poland's Case in Press Clippings 1952-1954* (Chicago, 1954), in Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 48.

[48] Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 49; David Nasaw, *The Last Million*, 308.

had been previously permanently resettled to apply for emigration from England. This could have killed the significance of the amendment for Polish veterans. In cooperation with a London-based Polish veteran organization, the PAC prepared a report that directly influenced the outcome of the voting, which passed the special provision that admitted Polish veterans from Great Britain. [49]

Historians, such as Jaroszynka or Wojdon, agree that the PAC's lobbying efforts for the Polish veterans in Great Britain had the most tangible effects considering many of their previous demands, such as for the appointment of an advisor on DP issues, did not materialize. Although this is true, it does not diminish the importance of the Report on Conditions in Polish Displaced Persons Camps in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany. The impact that the report had on the public perception of DP helped to pass the DP Act, meaning that success for Polish veterans was only achievable after the creation of their Report on Conditions. Furthermore, the report had an impact on the DP Act overall, rather than just a small portion, making its influence on the DP issue more significant.

The first DP Act, passed in 1948, allotted for the admission of 200,000 DPs into the United States over the course of 2 years. Unhappy with some of the provisions in the first DP Act, such as the unequal admission of certain ethnicities, lobbying by organizations like the PAC or the CCDP continued during those two years. In 1950, a second DP Act was passed, which ceased lobbying activities.[50] The DP Act is regarded as a landmark in American immigration history, being perhaps the most notable enactment of immigration law since the Immigration Act of 1924. This was because it ended the traditional laissez-faire policy and introduced organized mass immigration.[51] The PAC, in collaboration with other lobbying agencies, aided in the passage of the DP Act of 1948 through the publishing of the Report on Conditions, which created a media blitz, effectively educated the public on the plight of displaced Poles, hence, influencing the politicians who helped pass the act.

When considering all these factors, it is clear that the Report on Conditions was the PAC's most fruitful lobbying effort for the DP Act. Many of the PAC's early

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[49] Anna Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 54-57; Joanna Wojdon, *White and Red Umbrella*, 105.
[50] Haim Genizi, *America's Fair Share*, 67-111.
[51] Haim Genizi, *America's Fair Share,* 203;
Anna Dorota Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, "The Mobilization of American Polonia," 52.

lobbying efforts received little attention, were dismissed, and were ineffective. When their pleas for an investigation into the conditions of Polish DP camps in the American-occupied zone of Germany went unanswered, the group conducted its own research. This report not only sparked a media blitz, effectively educating the public on the DP issue, but it also impacted the opinions of politicians. Politicians such as William Stratton credited President Rozmarek with the necessary inspiration to sponsor the DP Act, while others applauded the PAC for their excellent work. Overall, considering these factors, it is evident that the Report on Conditions had a direct influence on the DP Act, one that outweighed the influence of their other forms of lobbying for DPs.

Generally, the history of Polish DPs has been understudied. Since the late 1990s, this topic has been written about more frequently, but it still is not covered in the detail it needs to be. By evaluating the PAC's "Report... on Conditions in Polish Displacement Camps in the American Occupied Zone in Germany," an increasingly nuanced version of the history of lobbying for displaced persons arises. It becomes evident that the PAC, while not entirely responsible for legislation such as the DP Act of 1948, played an influential role when advocating for DPs, one that aided in the passing of the act due to their report, media presence, and influence on the public and politicians. It would be inequitable and inaccurate to disregard this report and its influence because of this. Overall, this account endeavors to close these gaps of knowledge and properly acknowledge the role that the Report on Conditions had in their lobbying efforts and the passage of the DP Act of 1948.

# Electrification and the Birth of the Modern U.S. Navy

*By Joshua Blood*

For much of the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, the world has perceived the U.S. Navy as the preeminent naval force on the world stage. The influence of this arm of the U.S. military carried the weight of American foreign policy into foreign waters in times of war and peace. However, this has not always been the case. After the Civil War, foreign observers and naval officers widely appraised the Navy as a second-rate fighting force, an archaic relic. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, this image underwent a "naval revolution."[1] Steady, if not rapid, change attempted by naval and governmental authorities defined the period. Modernization extended beyond the shift from sail to steam, or from smooth-bore to breach-loading cannon, and included a radical shift in the operations of the naval establishment. The goal of this paper is to explore how the electrification of the Navy contributed to naval modernization and how it changed the analysis of naval history.

The historiography of military and technological modernization does not ignore the introduction of electricity but it often subordinates it as a self-evident by-product and is not examined on its own merits. Furthermore, electrification occurred within a broader trend of professionalization within the services, which influenced the role of the Navy in American power projection. Did electrification make the Navy modern? While the first instance of an electrical powerplant introduced to a naval vessel occurred in 1883, the introduction of electricity onboard ships was relegated mainly to lighting and auxiliary systems until well into the 1890s. With more electrified technology came bureaucracy to educate naval personnel in the operation and maintenance of electrical systems. Additionally, the Navy underwent a significant change in the composition of its officers and enlisted personnel by creating new naval hierarchies to maintain the increasing field of electrically powered equipment. The electrification of the U.S. Navy illuminates the essential role electricity played in naval modernization, incentivizing the creation of new electrically oriented naval hierarchies, which is still present in America's "modern" naval force.

Any analysis of electrification requires contextualizing the Navy's history prior to electrification. Much of the push for modernization of the service was based

[1] Walter Herrick's book is titled after this perceived phenomenon. Nathan Miller refers to it as a "naval renaissance."

upon salient concerns of the post-Civil-War era and the abysmal and obsolescent state of the fleet.[2] Following the Civil War, the Navy underwent a massive demobilization. At the onset of the conflict Gideon Welles, then secretary of the Navy, initiated a large-scale shipbuilding and recruitment program to supplement the insufficient numbers in service.[3] Welles' aim was to blockade Southern ports, a strategy that could only be executed in a limited manner until the strength of the service increased. To that end, he ordered two-hundred new ships and impressed approximately 400 merchantmen to supplement the existing forty-two vessels in service.[4] While these measures radically increased the Navy's fighting strength, there was no intention to maintain this ad hoc force post war.

In a bid to cut costs and in keeping with naval doctrine of the time, that of commerce raiding and coastal defense, the government dismantled and dismissed large portions of the fleet. In fact, in May of 1865, a general order decreed that all naval squadrons in domestic service were to be reduced to one-half of their wartime strength and that the strength of the Navy should not exceed one-hundred vessels.[5] Curiously, many of the ships decommissioned were those equipped with steam engines. According to the Secretary of the Navy, "…the substitution of steamers for sailing vessels will infuse more vigor into the service…"[6] Although contradictory to modern sensibilities, the supremacy of steam was not assumed by naval authorities despite the great strides made to incorporate steamers into the wartime fleet. The insistence on provisioning vessels with sail power was maintained into the 1890s and accompanied the introduction of America's first pre-dreadnaught battleships. The vessels were not the only subject of decommission as many officers and enlisted personnel were discharged following the war.

Downsizing and regression in naval technology are frequently attributed to contemporary naval doctrine and conservatism amongst the upper echelons of naval command. Doctrinally, the Navy was intended to support U.S. commercial interests abroad and in times of war to intercept and eliminate enemy shipping.[7] As such,

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[2]For clarity: Naval modernization represents not just the shift from sail to steam, but a complete shift in all levels of the naval establishment.
[3] Walter R. Herrick, *The American Naval Revolution* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), 7.
[4] Herrick, *Naval Revolution*, 8.
[5] Navy Department, *Report of the Secretary of the Navy December 1865* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), ix.
[6] Navy Department, *Annual Report 1865*, xi.
[7] Nathan Miller, *The U.S. Navy: A History* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997), 224.

officials like Gideon Welles & Vice Admiral David Porter deemed that sail power was best suited to extant operations, operations that usually required long voyages over considerable distances. Sail power required no coaling stations, of which the United States possessed few, and did not incur the same cost as coal consumption. Additionally, senior officers were not fully convinced of the steam engine's dependability for extended operations abroad. Despite successful tests in by chief engineer Isherwood in 1868 of powerful steam engines aboard the *U.S.S. Wampanoag*, the conservative favor for sail won out primarily due to its cost-effectiveness over steam and the internal politics of naval command.[8]

Although, from a 21st century vantage, it is tempting to paint these decisions as shortsighted, the needs of the service as perceived by senior officers like Vice Admiral David Porter meant that sail powers' 'fuel' efficiency & practicality outweighed the uncertainty associated with a new motive technology.[9] Institutionally, the prospects for advancement for both officers and enlisted men following the war were less than ideal. Officers often went several years beyond what was considered reasonable before promotion, with junior officers remaining junior officers after over a decade of service.[10] The stagnant careers of long time Ensigns and Midshipmen was a by-product of the Navy's practice of promotion through seniority. The presence of so many officers inducted in the civil war meant that the waiting line for promotion had been indefinitely extended.[11]

By the 1880s, there was considerable concern about the poor state of the Navy's ironclad vessels, which were severely dated by this point, and the inadequacy of the more numerous wooden-hulled ships. The British Navy of the period already possessed several vessels emblematic of future naval designs. In the opening pages of an 1877 report on European ship strength Chief Engineer J.W. King notes the advances made in Britain's foremost vessels the *Inflexible* and *Devastation*.[12] Each vessel's armaments were held in rotating turrets and made increasing use of machinery to accomplish its functions. In short, there was open recognition among junior and senior officers that the fleet required an injection of both new personnel and modern ships. The *Virginius* affair of 1873 provided an example of the poor state of the fleet and its inability to defend American interests within the Gulf of Mexico

[8] Herrick, *Naval Revolution*, 14-16.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Miller, *The U.S. Navy*, 222.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Navy Department, *Report of Chief Engineer J.W. King United States Navy* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), 16.

and South America. In what some consider a prelude to the Spanish American War, Spanish authorities seized a steamer, the *Virginius*, *en route* to Jamaica. The ship had flown an American flag, but its true purpose was to land volunteers and munitions for service in the ongoing Cuban uprising.[13] The Spanish commander that had seized the vessel executed some 50 passengers, including Americans, for these transgressions, an action that the United States government vehemently condemned.[14] In response to increasing tensions between Spain and the U.S. the Navy mustered an Armada on the East coast in a large display of naval power. However, the flotilla demonstrated to naval officers the severe disadvantage their outdated monitors and wooden steam frigates would suffer in a battle against a minor power like Spain.[15]

The disparity between the U.S. Navy and foreign services was acknowledged by administration officials and officers alike, although debates ensued as to the character and price of change, most recognized change would have to occur. In a relatively short period of time, 1883-1899, the total number of electrically powered appliances onboard naval vessels had grown significantly. Initially, these systems were secondary in nature, extending to the lighting and ventilation of vessels. Many of the essential warfighting functions, operation of turrets, transfer of ammunition, propulsion, and internal communications were handled by other operative means. In the case of mechanical operation, most devices utilized some form of steam or hydraulic power. The first modern "battleships" ordered by the U.S. Government, the *Maine* and *Texas* classes, were approved in August of 1886 and possessed little in the way of electric power.[16] The *Maine* entered service in 1890 and the *Texas* in 1892.[17] Even by the point of their completion, nearly seven years after the first introduction of electricity, the electrification of the vessels extended only to interior lighting, searchlights, and ventilation.[18] The operation of auxiliary systems was left primarily to steam, with the operation of the heavy turrets reliant on four

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[13] Albert A. Nofi, *The Spanish-American War 1898* (Conshohocken: Combined Books, 1996), 25.
[14] Ibid., 26.
[15] Miller, *The U.S. Navy*, 220.
[16] John C. Reilly and Robert L. Scheina, *American Battleships 1886-1923: Predreadnought Design and Construction* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1980), 22. Maine referenced here should not be confused with the later Battleship class of the same name.
[17] Reilly and Scheina, *American Battleships 1886-1920*, 21.
[18] Ibid., 28.

steam-powered hydraulic pumps on the *Texas*.[19] Several subsequent designs followed the pattern of the *Maine* and *Texas,* utilizing electricity for lighting and little else. However, beginning with the *Indiana* class, launched in 1893 and commissioned in 1895, the use of electric power expanded to the ammunition hoists of the ship's secondary armaments.[20] This arrangement was repeated in the following *Iowa* class.[21] The *Kearsarge* class, launched in 1898 and commissioned in 1900, represents a significant expansion of the electrical systems. The ship was fitted with seven General Electric generators to power lighting, ammunition hoists, cannon operation, and turret rotation.[22] Two vessels of the later *Maine* class, the *Missouri* and *Ohio,* were outfitted with radio equipment.[23] By the advent of the *Virginia* class nearly all mechanical systems were powered by two 100 Kilowatt and six 50 Kilowatt generators.[24] Nearly all of the classes described were later updated to accommodate the increasing role of electricity in newer designs. One significant update was the replacement of steam-powered hydraulics to operate turret mechanisms, a decision made in lieu of the less than satisfactory performance of such mechanisms in the Spanish American War. Importantly, by the turn of the century, many sailors would be operating electrically powered systems that would have had no place on a ship twenty years earlier.

As the transition from sail to steam and steam to electric took place, the institutional makeup of the Navy itself began to change. In 1883 an Edison electric power plant was installed aboard the U.S.S Trenton, the procurement and installation of which was overseen by the Bureau of Navigation.[25] Attempts were made to form a shipboard rating for the care of electrical matters, but this rate was abolished shortly after its introduction.[26] In 1887 the Office of Naval Inspector of Electric Lighting was created.[27] At this time procurement and installation of Electrical Equipment was handled by two separate bureaus, Navigation and

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[19] Reilly and Scheina, *American Battleships 1886-1920*, 39.
[20] Ibid., 58.
[21] Ibid., 74.
[22] Ibid,, 90.
[23] Ibid., 123.
[24] Ibid., 147.
[25] Alex M. Charlton, "The Electrical Division Aboard Ship," *Naval Institute Proceedings* 43, no. 196 (1919): 987-1009.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Navy Department, *Report of the Secretary of the Navy* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), 157.

Ordinance.[28] Navigation was concerned itself primarily with the interior lighting of the ship, whereas Ordinance assumed responsibility for searchlights; this arrangement apparently led to two separate chains of procurement.[29] By 1889, Secretary of the Navy Benjamin F. Tracy recognized that one bureau should have oversight over all electrical material, a role fulfilled by the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting.[30] In 1890 the Naval Inspector of Electric Lighting recommended that the rate of Electric Machinist be created, a petition left unanswered until 1898 when ratings for Chief Electrician and Electricians first and second class were introduced. These positions all pertained to enlisted personnel. However, officers like Chief of Equipment Admiral Bradford recognized during this time that the extant corps of officers and enlisted personnel lacked the desired knowledge of the systems they were charged with operating and maintaining.[31] By 1898 electric motors were being introduced upon naval vessels in larger numbers. As early as 1896 experimental powerplants were installed on the newly minted Kearsarge class battleships. These powerplants were used to power several critical systems including propulsion, turret rotation, ammunition supply, and cannon operation.[32] Members of the Bureau of Equipment noted that these ships could not maintain the function of these systems with the level of proficiency crews had at the time.[33]

The increasingly technical and mechanical nature of modern naval components saw a greater need for crews to be educated in the operation of newer vessels. As such, officers and enlisted personnel came to be judged by their abilities as engineers and electricians rather than as sailors, a process referred to as professionalization. For the purposes of this study, professionalization represents the increasing demand for higher standards of qualification, knowledge, expertise, and education required of naval personnel during this time. Professionalization has been consistently acknowledged in naval scholarship focused on the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Walter Herrick's work, *The American Naval Revolution*, emphasizes the roles of progressive officers like Captain Alfred T. Mahan and Commodore Stephen B. Luce in shaping naval strategy and officer corps education.[34]

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[28] Alex M. Charlton, "The Electrical Division Aboard Ship," 987-1009.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Navy Department, *Report of the Secretary of the Navy* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), 39.
[31] Alex M. Charlton, "The Electrical Division Aboard Ship," 987-1009.
[32] Reilly and Scheina, *American Battleships 1886-1923,* 86.
[33] Alex M. Charlton, "The Electrical Division Aboard Ship," 987-1009.
[34] William H. Theisen, "Professionalization and American Naval Modernization in the 1880s," *Naval War College Review* 49, no. 2 (1996), 35.

The Naval Institutes journal *Proceedings* saw considerable contribution amongst line officers and engineers to areas of machinery and technology. Professionalization also manifests as a form of technocracy, whereby the increasingly mechanical nature of the fleet saw the prioritization of technical specialists, not sailors, in considerations of naval modernization policy. These specialists would go on to promote greater intellectual discourse amongst naval officers surrounding these latest additions. By 1900 the importance of technical knowledge aboard modern vessels was recognized at the highest level, with the creation of an electrician's school at the New York Naval Yard in 1899.[35] By 1901, requests were made for the formation of labs and postgraduate courses in engineering.[36]

This process of professionalization was by no means standard or seamless. This period of naval history is marked by conflicting visions and institutional backlash manifesting in criticism of the Naval War College, the position of line officers and engineer officers hierarchically, and the ramifications of the Personnel Act of 1899. The Personnel Act represents a recognition of the fundamental importance specialist personnel played in the warfighting mission. In the "Old Navy," there was a distinct separation between officers of the line, "Line Officers," and officers of the staff corps, "Staff Officers."[37] Traditionally officers of the line, whose duties were geared toward command roles, were paid greater wages, enjoyed better prospects for promotion, and generally enjoyed greater respect and privileges.[38] Staff Officers on the other hand, those officers exerting command authority only within their profession, were not afforded the same recognition. Over the nineteenth century, certain staff officers, such as surgeons and engineers, were afforded rank and pay commensurate with their length of service. However, there still existed entrenched resentment of these measures by older, senior line officers.[39] Henry Williams, a Lieutenant-Commander in 1918, paints the picture of a heated rivalry between line and staff. It must be considered why this rivalry persisted, as described by others, for the whole of the century despite numerous attempts to

[35] Navy Department, *Report of the Secretary of the Navy* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 7.
[36] Navy Department, *Report of the Secretary of the Navy* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 7.
[37] It should be noted that there still exists a hierarchical separation between Line Officers and Staff Officers in so far as the chain of command. However, there is no informal separation between the two in terms of rank, pay, and job opportunities.
[38] Henry Williams, "A Naval Controversy," *The North American Review* 208, no. 756 (1918): 737.
[39] Henry Williams, "A Naval Controversy," 739.

relieve these discrepancies. Lieutenant Edward L. Beach noted in 1902 that each successive revision to the status of staff vis a vis line was performed before the large naval upscaling of the later 1880s and '90s.[40] In short, they did not consider the rapidly changing nature of the vessels, a key component of which involved the incorporation of electrical power.

The most significant change the 1899 legislation introduced was the amalgamation of line and engineer officers into a new line officer corp. Admittedly, Beach cites that naval personnel of the time were supportive of the bill, though mainly because it established common standards of promotion. However, the amalgamation itself represented the most significant change to the existing structure of Navy at that time and was met with mixed reception by both advocates and detractors. Beach cites in 1902 that by making engineer officers "line" officers the expansion of their duties would make them less efficient engineers. Further, he adds that those officers who had been solely line officers before would have little incentive to increase their engineering abilities.[41] It seems that both engineer officers and line officers were given operational responsibility for electrical appliances relating to their specific job.[42] Notably, during this time, there was no specific electrical division aboard ships, and those with electrical qualifications were divided into numerous others, powder, navigation, and deck.[43] It must be noted that numerous recommendations had been made as early as 1899, the year of the Personnel Act, to have a junior officer who could dedicate his time solely to the maintenance of the electrical powerplants. Nothing bore fruit until 1916 when the role of an electrical officer was established under the command supervision of the senior engineer officer. The formation of this role can be attributed to the recommendation of prominent electrician Frank J. Sprague.[44]

Although the Personnel Act of 1899 served to consolidate two officer corps that didn't necessarily have a dedicated electrical purview, the electrification of naval vessels clearly factored into its implementation. One might contest this notion on account of its scope and intentions to confer equal privileges of promotion and treatment between staff and line officers. However, the fact that officers of separate

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[40] Edward L. Beach, "The Results of the Navy Personnel Law of March 3, 1899," *Naval Institute Proceedings* 28, no.102 (1902): 231-243.
[41] ibid.
[42] It is worth noting that engineers of this time were not as readily associated with electricians as in the modern usage of the term.
[43] Alex M. Charlton, "The Electrical Division Aboard Ship," 987-1009. 4-5.
[44] Ibid., 9.

corps were given "line" designation suggests that those personnel previously not seen as integral to the warfighting component of naval life had become essential. As a result, the upper echelons of the navy bureaucracy, often cited as being traditional and conservative, implemented these measures to merge conventional notions of the warfighting officer with the evolving educational necessities of naval war. Further, the merger represents an attempt to satisfy these growing needs with an already deficient manpower pool. Charlton notes that no dedicated electrical officers existed because there was a lack of electrically trained personnel and a general lack of commissioned officers in the service before 1916.[45] Therefore, the Personnel Act of 1899 represents a stop-gap measure on the part of the Navy intent on remedying problems of naval hierarchy. On the one hand, it eliminated traditional discrimination of rank and pay of two separate officer corps. On the other hand, it brought those officers not previously seen as components of the warfighting mission in line with a more traditional hierarchical framework.

Viewing the act through the lens of electrification reveals that the process forced naval authorities, at least on some level, to confront traditional naval roles and adapt them to a changing technological landscape. Viewed another way, electrification reflects conservative reaction to change, initial difficulties associated with accommodating new realities, and the realities of inexperienced personnel. The act itself was not a solution, instead it established a functional framework where dedicated personnel could be trained to service the electrical needs of a ship exclusively. Efforts were made immediately following these provisions to catch up. These efforts include schools of instruction. In 1899 courses for officers were established at Newport, and schools for enlisted personnel in New York and Mare Island.[46] A year later efforts were made to create a class of warrant electricians. These efforts were not put into practice until 1912, whereby gunners were given the option of specializing in ordinance or electricity.[47] Before this, it seems that gunners were given electrical training but were not strictly dedicated to electrical matters. In 1909 a postgraduate school of instruction was established. This school appears to have helped in supplying electrically qualified officers.[48] The decision to create a

[45] Alex M. Charlton, "The Electrical Division Aboard Ship," 987-1009. 8.
[46]Alex M. Charlton, "The Electrical Division Aboard Ship," 987-1009. 5. Charlton notes that the officer course at this time were very rudimentary, and that the enlisted personnel who finished their course qualified for the lowest rating of electrician, Electrician Third-Class.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Alex M. Charlton, "The Electrical Division Aboard Ship," 987-1009. 6.

specific electrical division under a dedicated electrical officer in 1916 was predicated on practices implemented on the U.S.S. Texas in 1914. The final organizational form took shape roughly in 1918.[49] By this point, the electrical division was formed and had under its purview electrical gunners and all electricians and engineers necessary for the maintenance and operation of electrical equipment.[50]

Although electrification was not the only element of naval modernization, it was foundational. Following the Civil War, and well into the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Navy fielded vessels with wooden hulls, muzzle-loading cannons, and sail power. By 1918 the United States fielded advanced armored warships, with steel constructions, high-velocity breach-loading canons, and steam power. These are the features most associated with the transition from the "Old Navy" to the "Steel Navy." It may come as little surprise that such an emphasis has been placed on these elements of modernization as these changes are the easiest to identify when looking at two ships side by side. However, just as steel construction and modern canons changed the nature of the Navy, so too did electrification. Not only did electricity alter the operation of ships themselves, being incorporated into essential systems such as the armored turret, propulsion, and communication, but it also changed the composition and structure of the crews that serviced them. While the Navy managed to service and maintain early electrified appliances such as lighting systems and small generators with existing organizational frameworks, the expansion of electrified systems prompted the creation of a totally new type of crew. Following the Naval Personnel Act of 1899 the Navy began making concerted efforts to provide officers and enlisted men the training and education required to service their ships. Though slow to develop, the electrical division aboard naval vessels organized those with electrical knowledge and skills under one unit, providing America's modern warships with the special expertise to utilize them.

[49] Alex M. Charlton, "The Electrical Division Aboard Ship," 987-1009. 41.
[50] ibid., 42.

# Rosie's Reality: Representations of Working Women in Wartime America, 1940-1945

*By Riley Biondi*

By 1943, home front struggles specific to World War II loomed over American workers, and the Westinghouse Electric Company felt determined to motivate its employees amid the country's bleak circumstances. Specifically, Westinghouse Electric, like other industrial corporations at the time, suffered from a labor shortage and looked to both recruit and motivate women workers to fill the gap caused by its male workers drafted into the military. To achieve this goal, Westinghouse Electric hired artist J. Howard Miller to create a poster that celebrated and glorified their beloved wartime woman workers.[1] With these direct instructions, Miller got to work.

He started by imagining a young woman, probably in her twenties, who took up a job in the industrial sector. She had no reason to work before the war, but patriotism swept over her as the men she knew packed their things and flew across the globe to fight the good fight. As an American patriot, this young woman took a wartime job in industry to supplement the absence of the fathers, brothers, husbands, and friends sent away. She traded in her simple blouses and skirts for practical workwear. White, thin, and beautiful, Howard Miller's archetype of women workers was also single with no children to support. She dreamed of marrying her soldier boyfriend when he returned safe from the war. With just enough strength needed for the job, but not so much that she outperformed her male predecessors, Miller's worker exuded competence and feminine beauty. She wore flawless makeup, her hair pulled into a practical yet attractive updo wrapped with a red bandana.[2] Miller put thought to paper and drew a perfect image of feminine power and strength. His image of the woman worker became the backbone of the home front known and celebrated as Rosie the Riveter.[3]

Or, rather, that is the story many Americans have come to understand as the truth through American popular culture and memory. This narrative of wartime

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[1] James J. Kimble and Lester C. Olsen, "Visual Rhetoric Representing Rosie the Riveter: Myth and Misconception in J. Howard Miller's "We Can Do It!" Poster," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 9, no. 4 (2006): 533–69.

[2] See Appendix 1.

[3] War Production Co-Ordinating Committee, United States Creator. We Can Do It! Rosie the Riveter. United States of America, 1942. [Place of Publication Not Identified: Publisher Not Identified, to 1943] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2021669753/.

women workers has prevailed in the minds of American society regardless of its many inaccuracies. Further investigation into the lives of working women during World War II proves that this fictionalized narrative is far from reality. The true story of Rosie the Riveter, and the thousands of women whom she represented, is a fascinating history that highlights the contributions of diverse groups of women to the American economy and home front culture. Exploring the differences between everyday realities for American women working in industrial jobs during World War II and the ways that they were portrayed in popular media, such as magazines and posters, highlights the vast disconnect between reality and image. This thesis will explore this disconnect through the lens of women of color and women with children who were left out of the narrative of the wartime 'Rosies.' These women represented many of the women who worked wartime jobs in the industry sector but their reasons for earning wages did not fully fit the "patriotic" tag. Instead, these women worked to support themselves and their children.

By examining historians' collections of primary sources consisting of company records, oral histories, photographs, letters, and other sources from the lives of working women before World War II, it becomes possible to dispel the myth of women 'newly' joining the workforce during this period by putting to use evidence and sources and rather see clearer the realities of the American women who were working before 1941. Many key primary sources can be used to support the understanding that women were a part of the workforce before the Second World War. In her book, *Gender at Work,* Ruth Milkman uses several of these primary sources, including union records, diaries, and interviews.[4] Additionally, generations of scholars have written books and articles about Rosies and the circumstances that they faced as working women.

Before Miller's poster hung in the Westinghouse Electric factories in 1943, Beatrice Morales Clifton rose early in the morning for her job at Lockheed Aircraft in southern California.[5] Unlike the Rosie that artist Miller dreamed up, Beatrice Morales Clifton, also a riveter, went to work to bring home extra money and make a life for herself outside of the home. Patriotism is not what drove Clifton to apply to Lockheed Aircraft in 1942; as a mother of four, she had a family at home to support.

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[4] Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987).
[5] Sherna Berger Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War, and Social Change* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 199.

In the years prior, Clifton lived as a nineteen-year-old single mother of two before meeting her second husband.

As a divorcée and a daughter of Mexican immigrants, Clifton's life as a riveter did not look like that of the fictional Rosie dreamed up by artists like J. Howard Miller. She came from a working-class family, and in her childhood, both her mother and her father were employed as textile workers in Texas. After her divorce, Clifton learned the value of having her own disposable income. She enjoyed going to the movies with her brother and despised having to ask him to pay for her ticket. So, when she began working as a riveter, Clifton felt a newfound sense of agency in being able to provide for herself, even just with the $1.65 that she made for each hour's work.[6] The following year, when Westinghouse Electric hung the now iconic 'We Can Do It!' poster, women like Clifton were excluded from being a part of Rosie's image and, later, her legacy.

The juxtaposition of Rosie's image and message with the reality of women workers in the United States during World War II, such as Beatrice Morales Clifton, is as shocking as it is disappointing. In order to honor not only the legacies of these women, but also the truths of their history, historians must challenge popular culture's ideas and portrayals of working women in the 1940's in order to understand the realities that they faced on a daily basis. Though oftentimes the images presented are beautiful and clean, showing off happy women working happy jobs for their patriot husbands abroad, this was not real. Rather, this is the image that American popular culture wanted, and arguably continues to want, to be seen. When the romanticization and sanitization of their jobs are pulled back, a picture of struggle, hardship, determination, and success unfolds. Once women share their stories, their photos are found, and the truth unfolds, one question remains: who were the real Rosie the Riveters, and what is their story?

The American homefront during the Second World War is one of the most researched topics in the discipline of United States history. Since the 1940's, historians, political scientists, and other scholars from many disciplines have taken an interest in the industrial settings and their products during the Second World War in the United States.[7] However, this historical research did not focus on the

[6] Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited,* 213.
[7] A. Russell Buchanan, *The United States and World War II*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1964).

experiences or identities of the women who were working these industrial jobs. The Rosies that we know today would wait decades to have their stories told.

Rosie the Riveter did not reach the fame that she knows today in the United States until much later on. The next generation of scholars who took an interest in these working women, dubbed 'Rosies' by many historians, came about in the 1980's. It was not until this new generation of scholars emerged that scholarship was written about ways that Rosies were impacted socially and economically, as well as the way that their existence affected and arguably altered the structure of society.[8] As modern historians dived deeper into the history of women during the twentieth century more so than ever before, society has been exposed to stories of women in the workforce during World War II.

Most Americans can identify Rosie the Riveter as a factory worker and might even describe her as a feminist icon. Her image can be found on all different kinds of stickers, pins, shirts, and products today. However, it is because of the work of historians during the late twentieth century that popular culture has gained an obsession with Rosie and the messages associated with her image. One of the first historians to change the narrative about these working women was Leslie Woodcock Tentler. Tentler changed the conversation in the field of women's history. She researched family history, as well as the changing roles of women in industry. In her book, *Wage-Earning Women: Industrial Work and Family Life in the United States, 1900-1930*, Tentler explored the ways that women worked before the Second World War, and subsequently proves that women's impact on the economy was integral during the entire twentieth century, not just after the First and Second World Wars.[9] She introduced these working women as more dynamic humans and explored their impact through a different lens than what had been used prior. Her work has inspired historians to dig deeper into the lives of working women and their families.

Historian Alice Kessler-Harris was one of the first scholars to introduce research into the different effects that the labor of women during the Second World War had on the economy. She has a celebrated career, and her research opened doors for many historians to follow. Her work includes titles like *Women Have Always*

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[8] Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Wage-Earning Women: Industrial Work and Family Life in the United States, 1900-930* (Oxford Oxfordshire: Oxford University Press, 1982). Alice Kessler-Harris, *A Woman's Wage: Historical Meanings and Social Consequences* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1990).
[9] Tentler, *Wage-Earning Women*.

*Worked, Out to Work,* and *A Woman's Wage.*[10] These books opened up a conversation between scholars about women's labor in the United States and led to even more research being conducted. In addition to studying economic factors, Kessler-Harris introduced more scholarship focusing on the social history related to these working women. She explored the different societal effects that this new wave of women workers had in the United States.

In 1987, Ruth Milkman published *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex During World War II.*[11] Her scholarship looked specifically at women who worked in the electrical industry during World War II. She introduced research about the economic and societal effects of this labor in her many published works. Milkman uses primary sources to explain to readers the ways in which women in America worked before the Second World War. Within Chapter 3 of her book, titled "The Great Depression and the Triumph of Unionization," Milkman explains aspects of the lives of women who were a part of the workforce during the Great Depression years in the United States. To do so, she cites several different kinds of primary sources. She compares the differences between men's and women's unemployment rates in the electric and automotive industries in 1937 during the Great Depression, noting their similarities and differences.[12] Milkman uses census records from 1930 and 1937 to display change and continuity over time. These records also indicate the number of women working in these years, which is high, as well as providing information about their lives, families, and occupations.

Many scholars in the 21st century have also studied images of Rosie as a piece of propaganda, understanding her use and depictions as a form of communication to the American people.[13] Scholarship from the discipline of media

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[10] Kessler-Harris, *A Woman's Wage*.
Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of America's Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1982).
Alice Kessler-Harris, *Women Have Always Worked: A Concise History* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2018).
[11] Milkman, *Gender at Work,* 38.
[12] Ibid., 29.
[13] Kathleen M. Ryan, "'Don't Miss Your Great Opportunity': Patriotism and Propaganda in Second World War Recruitment," *Visual Studies (Abingdon, England)* 27, no. 3 (2012): 248–61.
Bilge Yesil, "'Who Said This Is a Man's War?': Propaganda, Advertising Discourse and the Representation of War Worker Women During the Second World War," *Media History* 10, no. 2 (2004): 103–17.

history often looks at the ways that propaganda represented and did not represent life for working women during World War II. It notes the ways that race and class were used in propaganda and advertisements to stereotype specific women into certain roles or genera of femininity. Gender ideology is the main idea of many of these articles, and they discuss the ways that femininity and strength were combined, used, and juxtaposed to persuade women of a piece of media's message. Visual studies journals argue that effective propaganda can inspire change in behavior as well as reinforce social norms. They dive into the model of propaganda and the ways that it can serve as effective rhetoric, especially for women in the 1940's. Their focus is often on the ways that media changes self-perception; these scholars also look at visual media through the lens of its use as a device for mass communication and persuasion.

This is discussed at length in communication scholars Kimble and Olsen's article, "Visual Rhetoric Representing Rosie the Riveter: Myth and Misconception in J. Howard Miller's 'We Can Do It!' Poster."[14] This article notes the use of Rosie the Riveter as an American icon that has taken on several meanings since her entrance into popular culture. It focuses on the misconceptions that many Americans believe about Rosie due to her popular culture presence. The authors note that Rosie represents "fiction passing as history." They address the things that Americans do not know about the poster, including its belated rise to fame. They talk about the original artists, the role of the U.S. government, labor recruitment (or lack thereof), and the mixed messages surrounding the artwork. This article, along with several others, notes the ways that communications scholars have understood and studied the phenomenon of Rosies since the 1940's.[15]

Historians have used visual depictions of Rosie to understand what her representation meant on a greater scale. Oftentimes, they look at the visual messages presented to women during the World War II era and the ways that they impacted the decisions of American Women.[16] Additionally, they examine the different cultural norms that were pushed onto women and the ways that women processed these expectations. Some scholars note factors such as class and the different messages aimed at women of different classes. Other historians have explored the different

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[14] Kimble and Olson, "Visual Rhetoric Representing Rosie the Riveter."
[15] Charles Lewis and John Neville, "Images of Rosie: A Content Analysis of Women Workers in American Magazine Advertising, 1940–1946," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (1995): 216–27.
[16] Donna B. Knaff, *Beyond Rosie the Riveter: Women of World War II in American Popular Graphic Art* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2012).

industrial jobs that women held before and during the Second World War by exploring the lives and realities of women workers during the Great Depression.[17] Historians contrast the idea that women were not a part of the workforce until 1941 with facts and primary sources. Additionally, they examine what working in industrial jobs during the war was like for women from different walks of life. Historians have detailed what working women faced after the war, the unions that chose to or not to fight for them, and the aftermath of the war where many women lost their jobs and therefore financial stability. [18] However, it is important to note that scholars within communications and visual studies programs have oftentimes excluded the lives of diverse groups of women, including women with children, divorced or single women, and black women, from their research and scholarship.

Though journalism and media studies academics easily note and expand upon what is present in a source, oftentimes writers of disciplines outside of history and sociology fail to notice what is absent from an image that may be notable and important for contextualization. This usually results in black women, who played an integral role in women's labor in the 1940's, being simply left out of the narrative. It is compelling that within the article "Don't Miss Your Great Opportunity: Patriotism and Propaganda in Second World War Recruitment," written by Kathleen M. Ryan for a visual studies journal in 2012, nine different images of propaganda posters are included as support for the author's thesis, all of which consist of solely skinny, white, conventionally beautiful women.[19] However, the author makes no note of the obvious absence of women of color in all nine of the primary source posters provided.

The fact that Kathleen M. Ryan was able to have her article "Don't Miss Your Great Opportunity: Patriotism and Propaganda in Second World War Recruitment" published in a peer-reviewed journal without even as much as noting the factor of race speaks to the standards of the type of academic discipline she works in and the norms for its publications. If Ryan were a historian, it is highly unlikely that this article would have been considered for publication in a peer-reviewed historical journal. It should be noted, however, that the article should not be cast out of consideration of use for research purposes. Ryan's article draws

[17] Milkman, *Gender at Work*.
[18] Pauline E. Parker, *Women of the Homefront: World War II Recollections of 55 Americans* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002).
[19] Ryan, "Don't Miss Your Great Opportunity," 248-261.

compelling conclusions about the portrayal of women in World War II propaganda and makes sharp observations about the rhetoric the illustrators put to use.[20]

However, in a media history journal, one must provide information about race as a factor in propaganda portraying women during the time period. This is the case in the article, "Who Said this is a Man's War?: Propaganda, Advertising Discourse, and the Representation of War Worker Women during the Second World War," written by Bilge Yesil in 2004 for the interdisciplinary journal, *Media History*.[21] Though the author does not expand on the role (or lack thereof) of black women in the media to the desirable extent of a historian, Yesil does make observations about the absence of black women in propaganda and expands upon the lived experience of the time.

More recently, some scholarship improved at introducing conversations and analysis about visual representations of black women and their roles in the industry sector in the United States during the Second World War. Megan Williams is a scholar who has written about the images of Black women in the 1940's at length. In particular, Williams often focuses her scholarship on famous singer, actress, dancer, and activist Lena Horne.[22] Lena Horne is an important figure to discuss because of her role representing black women in mainstream media during the 1940's, as well as her influence as a pin-up star turned voice for the civil rights movement.

Generally, when looking at articles published in a historical journal, it can be noted that race is a much more prevalent topic than in journals of other academic disciplines. This is the case when reading the work of historian Megan Williams. Her two articles, "The *Crisis* Cover Girl: Lena Horne, the NAACP, and Representations of African American Femininity 1941-1945"[23] and "Meet the Real Lena Horne: Representations of Lena Horne in *Ebony Magazine*, 1945-1949,"[24] focus heavily on the topic of representation of black women during the war. Better still, Williams dives deep into colorism and its relation to the portrayal of black women in the 1940's, explaining that, "Like the majority of women selected as *Crisis* cover girls

[20] Ryan, "Don't Miss Your Great Opportunity," 258.
[21] Yesil, "Who Said This is a Man's War?," 104.
[22] See Appendix 2.
[23] Megan E. Williams, "The Crisis Cover Girl: Lena Horne, the NAACP, and Representations of African American Femininity, 1941-1945," *American Periodicals: A Journal of History, Criticism, and Bibliography* 16, no. 2 (2006): 200–218.
[24] Megan E. Williams, "'Meet the Real Lena Horne': Representations of Lena Horne in *Ebony Magazine*, 1945–1949," *Journal of American Studies* 43, no. 1 (2009): 117–30.

during this period, her light skin and straightened hair illuminate the internalization of colorism and conventional notions of beauty as promoted by the dominant society as well as the biracial roots of the black bourgeoisie."[25]

Colorism as it relates to the portrayal of black women in the 1940's is touched upon as a topic in her second article as well: "Ebony's representation of Horne and Ebony readers' letters to the editor reveal central issues of respectability, pinup photography, colorism, hair care, and interracial relationships as they were debated within the magazine's pages."[26] Because she is writing for a historical journal, Williams's thesis is influenced by the boundaries of the discipline of history to include research into racism and the effects it had on the topics that she was studying. Alternatively, all other articles mentioned, none of which were written for the historical discipline, attempt to do so.

In this way, Williams's thesis and its defense are affected by the fact that she writes for a historical journal rather than for a different academic discipline. Though all of the articles mentioned were published in peer-reviewed journals by well-informed and educated authors, the extent to which they each included certain aspects of social and historical study in their theses were all affected one way or another by the structure and expectations for the academic discipline that they write for. This research focuses more heavily on the insistence of heterosexuality along with underrepresented groups of women and ways that they were affected by their jobs, the media, and the interaction between the two.

Primary sources are essential in displaying the disconnect between reality and altered portrayals of working women. Sources that contribute to research about the dissonance between the media's portrayal of working women during World War II are often accessible due to the fact that World War II was less than one hundred years ago, so many sources have been preserved in good condition by both archivists and interested historians. One of the most helpful collections of primary sources is organized and available from the Library of Congress. This collection, titled "Rosie the Riveter: Working Women and World War II."[27] Included are photographs, government publications, videos, and oral and written histories from Rosies

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[25] Williams, "The Crisis Cover Girl," 211.
[26] Ibid., 117.
[27] "Research Guides: Rosie the Riveter: Working Women and World War II: Finding Primary Sources," Finding Primary Sources - Rosie the Riveter: Working Women and World War II - Research Guides at Library of Congress, accessed December 1, 2023, https://guides.loc.gov/rosie-the-riveter/primary-sources.

themselves. Luckily for historians, many firsthand accounts of Rosies' stories have been recorded since the 1940's and preserved in books by researchers. Two of these books include *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War, and Social Change* by Sherna Berger Gluck and *Women of the Homefront: World War II Recollections of 55 American Women.*[28] In these works the authors ask Rosies their stories and allow them to explain in their own words what their lives were like as women working in industry during the 1940's.

Other helpful primary sources include advertisements and visual media collections from magazines published and distributed during World War II. These can come in the form of books or archival collections. *LIFE Magazine* and *Good Housekeeping* are two popular publications whose collections are available in online archives.[29] These magazines show what Americans were reading in their free time; they give historians a glimpse into what popular culture valued and promoted at the time. There are also many works written by historians that include pieces of visual media from the 1940's and analyses of their impacts; these include *Making War Making Women: Femininity and Duty on the American Homefront, 1941-1945* by Melissa A. McEuen*, Women's Magazines 1940-1960: Gender Roles and the Popular Press* by Nancy A. Walker*,* and *Looking at LIFE Magazine* by Erika Doss.[30] These works allow readers to understand the ways that visual media affected perceptions of women working in industry during World War II. They also allow us to interpret and understand the ways that working women have been perceived over the span of American history.

There is a widespread misunderstanding that women did not occupy this role before the U.S. joined the Second World War in late 1941. One of popular history's

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[28] Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited.*
Parker, *Women of the Homefront.*
[29] "Life Magazine Archives," Google Books, accessed December 1, 2023, https://books.google.com/books/about/LIFE.html?id=R1cEAAAAMBAJ.
"Good Housekeeping: Home Economics Archive: Research, Tradition and History," Cornell University Library Digital Collections, accessed December 1, 2023, https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/hearth6417403.
[30] Melissa A. McEuen, *Making War, Making Women: Femininity and Duty on the American Home Front, 1941-1945* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011).
Nancy A. Walker, *Women's Magazines, 1940-1960: Gender Roles and the Popular Press* (Boston, MA: Bedford Books, 1998).
Erika Lee Doss, *Looking at Life Magazine* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

greatest misconceptions tells Americans that women in the United States joined the workforce in high numbers for the first time during World War II for one reason that most have heard argued before: to replace the men who left for war. What this misconception does not take into account, however, is the large number of women who participated in the workforce well before the start of the Second World War.

Contrary to popular belief, women were working manufacturing jobs in large numbers well before the start of the war for a plethora of reasons. Historians know this and can prove this fact by looking at primary sources from the interwar period and beyond. For example, Alice Kessler-Harris, Leslie Woodcock Tentler and Ruth Milkman have written works that contribute to the scholarship concerning the American women who were working in industry well before the start of the Second World War. The stories of these working women live on through the articles, photographs, records, and other sources that they left behind. By examining historians' collections of primary sources consisting of company records, oral histories, photographs, letters, and other sources from the lives of working women before World War II, it becomes possible to dispel the myth of women 'newly' joining the workforce during this period by putting to use evidence and sources and rather see clearer the realities of the American women who were working before 1941.

The masses of American society held many fears about working women during the 1940's. Evidence from visual media suggests that these fears can be labeled into three main categories: the feminization of jobs, the fear of lesbian identity invading society, and the fear of women of color taking over jobs previously held by men or white women. When looking through the pages of popular American magazines and other forms of visual media, it becomes glaringly obvious that these publications, their authors, and their readers were all impacted by these fears.

Another important concept to understand before diving deep into the topic is the feminization of jobs. As more women entered the workforce, specifically in industry, society feared that these women would become 'too masculine,' or, even worse, turn into lesbians. Of course, it is known that working a job in industry does not affect one's sexual orientation, but that did not matter to the masses; the culture of the United States in the 1940's included a general air of fear and hatred towards homosexuality. This fear of lesbianism coincided with a fear of masculinity, as society at the time viewed a strong connection between the two. It was feared that, if a woman worked in industry she would become masculine, and if she became masculine, she would inevitably leave her husband and become a lesbian.

These fears were displayed by magazine publications by promoting women's work in industry with the insistence that working women must not only protect but also embrace their femininity in the workplace. Because the government would frown upon the direct discouraging of women entering or continuing to be a part of the workforce, magazines often had to present this femininity in conjunction with industry work. One advertisement included in *LIFE Magazine* in their June 29, 1942 issue is an excellent example of this balancing act. The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York included an advertisement in this issue that named '1942's Woman of the Year.'[31] Instead of naming a specific woman, it seems that the company instead chose a specific type of woman to honor. In the photo included, a young white woman in a factory is pictured.[32] She wears a fashionable and feminine hairstyle and eye makeup with a classic red lip. Though she works on a piece of machinery at an industrial job, her fingernails are perfectly manicured and painted. Above her, the text reads "The Job is Bigger Now!," which implies that this woman left homemaking in order to take up a wartime industry job.

This advertisement promotes industrial work, but only for young, white, thin, feminine women. The assumption that the phrase "The Job is Bigger Now!" makes is also problematic, as it implies that women went from homemaking to industry just because of the war, which is untrue in many cases as primary sources prove that women have always worked. Take, for example, the life of Mayre Stumph. Stumph took a job at Vultee Aircraft Company in 1941, but this was by no means her first job.[33] In fact, she was expected by her family to get a job after her high school graduation in order to support herself. After this, she took up factory work in the late 1930's before the war began. Stumph does not match the image of the '1942 Woman of the Year' put in *LIFE Magazine,* though she was a Rosie in the year 1942. Seemingly, she was exactly the kind of worker that they would want to glorify and promote. However, Stumph was not as young as the woman in the photo, and the two presumably lived quite different lives. In addition to being in the workforce her whole adult life, Stumph was also an older, divorced single mother who was considered physically larger than most at the time. Her hands were strong and unmanicured, which made her particularly apt for work in industry.

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[31] "LIFE Magazine," Google Books, accessed December 1, 2023, https://books.google.com/books?id=KlAEAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=twopage&q&f=false.

[32] See Appendix 3.

[33] Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited,* 50.

Marye Stumph enjoyed her work in industrial settings and spoke of her time working in factories fondly because of the economic benefits it offered her family: "Well naturally, I was interested in any job because I wanted to get my family back together. I had my kids farmed out and I was anxious to get a steady job… it wasn't that I was particularly thinking about defense. That is just what came along."[34] This is a far cry from the reasons that magazines implied that women went to work in factories: out of patriotism, love of their country, and love of their husbands who were sent overseas. Stumph had no husband sent overseas, and patriotism was not her priority. Instead, she valued supporting herself and her children financially so that she could keep them together, housed, and fed on her sole income.

When looking at pieces included in popular media from 1940 to 1945, it becomes easier to understand the culture that Americans were participating in by reading the magazines that would have laid in their offices and on their coffee tables. One of these cartoons was included in the March 13, 1943 issue of *The New Yorker.* Drawn by Alan Dunn, this panel depicts a woman, looking like a stereotypical J. Howard Miller Rosie, wearing a work uniform in a factory.[35] She stands next to welding machinery. In the first picture, she powders makeup on as she wears a beautifully painted full face.[36] In the next panel, she dons a welding mask that covers her entire face. Then, she begins to weld. This cartoon can be interpreted as a critique of working women for embracing their femininity in the workplace by wearing makeup even when it will not be seen. Or, it could be critiquing popular culture for insisting that women maintain full faces of makeup when working in factories and poking fun at the women who do so. Either way, it is the Rosies who cannot win: makeup or not, the message was that there would always be critiques of their appearance in the workplace.

Another such example that demonstrates the fear mongering put on about the loss of femininity is a cartoon by Chon Day published in *The New Yorker* on August 25, 1945.[37] In this cartoon, the subject is a woman in pants, a collared shirt, and a baseball cap. She carries a toolbox and sports a short haircut. This woman is pictured walking past a beauty shop with a sign in the window that reads "Complete Reconversion $25."[38] This sign intends to say that masculine women should enter the beauty shop and be 'reconverted' to the traditional ideal of femininity after working a

[34] Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited,* 51.
[35] McEuen, *Making War Making Women,* 55.
[36] See Appendix 4.
[37] Knaff, *Beyond Rosie the Riveter,* 144.
[38] See Appendix 5.

job in industry. Published less than a month before the end of the Second World War, this cartoon sends a message to Americans saying that women should cease all 'masculine' traits now that the war is over. Implied was also the notion that women would be leaving their industrial war jobs when the war ended.

However, this did not align with the wants and financial needs of all woman industrial workers. Consider again the situation of Marye Stumph, who needed her high-paying factory job to keep her family afloat and her children home. When the end of the war came, she was expected to leave her job no matter the consequences it may bring upon her family. Author Sherna Berger Gluck wrote of Stumph's situation:

> Marye's life experience is also a reminder of the sexist society that stifled women and contained their ambitions. Marye really liked the mechanical work she did during the war and would have liked to continue in that job, but she accepted the cultural message that these were men's jobs that were only temporarily being filled by women. Marye did not fight to retain her job when the massive layoffs came in 1945, even though she had seniority. Instead, she returned to traditional lower paying women's work.[39]

The description of industry jobs as 'masculine' is also a concept that came from the sexist culture at the time. Because industry was a male-dominated field that oftentimes included aspects of manual labor, it was seen as a job unfit for women. This is because, through the sexist lens that the culture maintained, women were perceived as frail, weak, and not physically or emotionally capable of industrial work. Fear struck society when women were able to perform these jobs at the same capability as their male predecessors, as it was seen as their encouraging masculinity. In the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, because of these cultural and societal beliefs, jobs that were performed at large by women were highly feminized.

Feminization of jobs historically takes place when women enter a field that was previously predominantly male. In the case of job feminization, when women start to enter a field in large numbers, society starts to view that job as inherently feminine. That is, men begin to feel uncomfortable working a job that many women also work because they fear being perceived as less masculine or as 'doing a

[39] Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited,* 53.

woman's job.' For example, fields including education and nursing are dominated in numbers by women. Because of this, men oftentimes stray away from these jobs both because they fear being perceived as feminine and because the wages are lower. Oftentimes, perceived feminization of a job leads to a decrease in pay for said job because of sexist systems.

Though it is assumed that Rosies were straight women, more evidence is necessary to understand the reality of these women's sexual orientations. When examining photos, oftentimes there are unanswered questions about a woman's identity if she has not also been interviewed. For example, in photographs race and age can be observed and usually do not need to be clarified by the viewer. Sexual orientation, however, is not an observable trait in the same manner. Little scholarship has been produced on the sexual orientation of Rosies and how it may or may not have affected their jobs during the 1940's. More evidence and sources are needed to understand the realities of women who did not identify as straight in the workplace or who did not share their sexual orientations with coworkers in fear of retaliation. This information is useful in defining a gap in historical research, which lies in the fact that few historians have explored the disconnect between working women during the Second World War and the ways that they were portrayed in popular culture.

Coinciding with a focus on heterosexuality, there was also an insistence on motherhood and the eventual return to the home in the media. All Rosies were expected and pressured by society and the media to revert to motherhood and homemaking, even if that was not the situation that they had come from. This notion was enforced in visual media through a number of ways. In the November 1943 issue of *Good Housekeeping*, on almost every page there is a piece of visual media that promotes an eventual return to the home for women.

One of the most jarring instances of this message comes from an advertisement for Kleinert's Diapers.[40] In this advertisement, a young woman holds a smiling baby. The woman is white, wears makeup, is thin, and generally follows that pattern of the kinds of women included in visual media in *Good Housekeeping* in the 1940's.[41] Under the photograph, the text reads, "Heart and head of her family…Until Dad comes home!" This text implies that this woman was not head of her household

[40] "untitled," *Good Housekeeping*, Volume 117, Number 5, Cornell University Library Digital Collections Book Reader, accessed November 20, 2023, https://reader.library.cornell.edu/docviewer/digital?id=hearth6417403_1418_005#page/181/mode/1up, 181.
[41] See Appendix 6.

before the war, and that she took up the role only because her husband left to fight in World War II. Beneath it, the advertisement reads:

This young mother's doing a gallant job in the little every-day ways that every woman can! She saves her time and energy, while keeping her baby happy and comfortable in Kleinert's Pad Pants with DISPOSABLE pads. But she's stretching her supply, and sharing this great convenience with other mothers, by being careful not to waste them! And she keeps her precious dresses clean and fresh for "furlough dates" with Daddy, by protecting them with Kleinert's dress shields (and what good care she gives these helpful "conservers"!) Little things- all of them- but they make a woman feel she's doing her part as heart and head of her family- until Dad comes home to stay![42]

This advertisement also implies that she will fall back into a submissive role in the home once her husband returns home from war. Stressing the importance of being a strong head of house, it also not-so-gently reminds women that their role as head of house will only be valued until the war ends. It insists on motherhood, homemaking, and heterosexuality. Telling women that they are valued as wives and mothers, the text reminds them that this new powerful role they have taken up is only temporary. It values a woman who is strong and makes her own decisions, but only until a man returns to do it for her.

In reality, women have always held the role of head of house, even well before the start of World War II. *Good Housekeeping* was, and continues to be, a magazine predominantly read by women. The messages that advertisements included in this magazine sent are specifically indented for a female audience, made up mostly of white women. Divorced women, single women, women who did not have children, and other groups were left aside in this narrative. They did not play the role of submissive homemakers before the war, but were somehow expected to return to it afterwards. This left many women wondering: What were they to do after the war?

This is exactly the question that Betty Jeanne Boggs was confronted with in 1945 when her time working an industrial war job came to an end. The diaper advertisement in *Good Housekeeping* did not represent women Boggs. She was never

[42] ""untitled," *Good Housekeeping*, Volume 117, Number 5, 181.

a homemaker or a mother before the war; she was interested in education and wage-earning work. Boggs said in 1982:

> I worked in a war plant and it was one of the things you did when your country was at war, and it had been an enjoyable experience. Even today, I'm very proud of that job. The job I got after that, I was working in downtown Portland, like a file clerk. … It just didn't seem to be as productive. I liked working with my hands, and I didn't mind dressing in pants… or jumpsuits. But that office, oh, a total bore![43]

In the spring of 1945, Betty Jeanne Boggs reentered Seattle University. A far cry from the presumed life of the woman in the diaper advertisement, she was a lifelong learner and worker. After earning her degree, Boggs went on to work as a laboratory technician in a chemistry and planting lab at Sylvania Electric Company until 1957.

Within the same issue of *Good Housekeeping* published in November 1943, another advertisement enforces to women the idea that their role should focus on homemaking. This advertisement for Hinds Lotion features a woman at a kitchen sink; looking like the stereotypical homemaker, she is again thin, white, young, beautiful, wearing a feminine dress, high heeled shoes, and a full face of fashionable makeup. Her hair is tied in a bow and an apron covers her outfit as she washes the dishes in her kitchen.[44] The speech bubble next to her reads: "See these nice, soft hands? Fighting the War in the kitchen sink! Using HINDS before and after work protects my hands against grime and chapping. A Honey of a lotion!"[45] Instead of fighting the war in an industrial job like many women in the year 1943, this fantasy-woman seemingly does so from her kitchen. However, it is the fine print below her image that is most intriguing: "Uncle Sam needs more women working. Apply: U.S. Employment Service." Even when the country needed war workers, when the U.S. Employment Service was seeking out more female industrial workers, advertising that represented the opinions of most of society who looked down upon women working or 'fighting the war' outside of their homes.

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[43] Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited,* 113.
[44] See Appendix 7.
[45] "untitled," *Good Housekeeping*, Volume 117, Number 5, 152.

When it comes to the fear of women of color taking over jobs, the best evidence of this fear does not include depictions of women of color, but rather, their constant and glaring exclusion from visual media. Women of color worked as Rosies just the same as white women. Photo evidence proves their existence within factories; they were doing the same jobs as the white Rosies.[46] In a photograph from the Library of Congress Archives from February 1943, photographer Alfred T. Palmer captures the image of a black woman working as a riveter.[47] She smiles for the camera as she works on a "Vengeance" dive bomber. By all qualifications, she is the Rosie who fought fascism abroad from the homefront; she is the Rosie that Uncle Sam aimed to glorify. However, images of black women were absent from almost all visual media at the time.

These women are left unrepresented in the extensive propaganda campaign that urged them to take up war jobs. A small number of black Rosies were represented during the 1940's, but acknowledgments of their existence were absent from mainstream media forms that would have been read by white audiences, such as *LIFE Magazine* or *Good Housekeeping*. However, media that was created by and catered to black Americans worked to give black Rosies the recognition that they deserved. *Crisis,* the NAACP's magazine that started in 1910, featured a black Rosie on the cover of their May 1, 1943 issue.[48] This woman did not have a feature article written about her within the magazine, but she is identified as 'Miss Ida Mae Smith.'[49]*Crisis* magazine was an important contributor to black culture throughout the 19th century.

However, Ida Mae Smith and the unnamed riveter in the photograph from the Library of Congress Archives were not the only black Rosies. In reality, thousands of black women worked industrial jobs during World War II. Sherna Berger Gluck writes of these women in *Rosie the Riveter Revisited:* "On December 12, 1941, 12 million women were already in the workforce, comprising one-fourth of all workers. It was not yet common for married women to work outside the home,

[46] See Appendix 8.
[47] "Operating a Hand Drill at Vultee-Nashville, Woman Is Working on a 'Vengeance' Dive Bomber, Tennessee," The Library of Congress, accessed December 1, 2023, https://www.loc.gov/item/2017878542/.
[48] "The Crisis 1943-05: Vol 50 ISS 5," Internet Archive, May 1, 1943, https://archive.org/details/sim_crisis_1943-05_50_5/mode/2up.
[49] See Appendix 9.

except for black women— almost half of whom did. Eventually, they made up half of the women workers in war plants."[50]

One of these women was Fanny Christina Hill. Hill had worked lower-paying jobs before the war began and stated, "The war made me live better, it really did. My sister always said that Hitler was the one that got us out of the white folks' kitchen."[51] When jobs in industry became available because of the war, she was able to make a better wage. In an interview, Hill discussed the relationship that black women had outside of the home, "The black woman has worked all of her life and she really was the first one to go out to work and know how to make ends meet, because it was forced on her."[52] This was the case for Hill, as she had worked several jobs from a young age, including waitressing and live-in domestic work. Gluck explains of Hill's entrance into the industry sector:

> It wasn't hard for [Hill] to get an aircraft job. By 1943, when she returned to Los Angeles, the Negro Victory Committee… had organized a march on the local U.S. employment office and had forced an expansion of training and job opportunities for blacks. It was no wonder that Tina Hill and many other black women were conscious of the historic role they were playing. One of the pamphlets issued by the National Council of Negro Women contained a War Work Pledge: "I shall never for a moment forget that thirteen million Negroes believe in me and depend on me… I am a soldier on the Home Front and I shall keep the faith."[53]

Like many other women in her situation, Tina was less motivated by patriotism and more motivated by the high wages that factory work gave her the opportunity to earn. She stayed at her industry job at North American Aviation for almost two years. However, looking back on her time working in industry, Hill notes that segregation was still a factor in almost every aspect of her daily life, including housing and public spaces. White Rosies did not have to face the same struggles that working black women did during the Second World War. Hill's work experience in

[50] Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited,* 21.
[51] Ibid., 23.
[52] Ibid., 30.
[53] Ibid., 37.

industry is a testament to the perseverance of working black women throughout World War II and beyond.

One main question that historians have raised in scholarship concerning this topic asks in what ways the portrayals of working American women during the Second World War in popular culture, specifically, advertisements, differ from the realities they faced in everyday life. Perhaps the most obvious and glaring differences can be pointed out by examining Norman Rockwell's famous *Saturday Evening Post* cover of 1943.[54] In this image, a young, white, female worker sits with her foot on a copy of *Mein Kampf* as she eats a sandwich.[55] Her strong stance challenges Hitler's power and exudes confidence. The model for this image was nineteen-year-old Mary Doyle Keefe.[56]

In contrast, many women workers in 1943 were much older than nineteen. For example, in 1942, thirty-year-old Jean Reed Prentiss got her first job at Weyerhaeuser Mill in Washington state.[57] Jean Reed Prentiss explained, "I learned that there were women, aged 30, like me, who had been employed there since high school, in the same mill, doing the same work, year in and year out."[58] From this example, historians are able to understand the contrast in the realities of women workers and the portrayals made to represent them. Additionally, photo evidence proves that many older Rosies worked in factories during World War II. One image, taken in April 1943 by Jack Delano, shows "Women workers employed as wipers in the roundhouse having lunch in their rest room [at] C. & N.W. R.R. [in] Clinton, Iowa."[59] This photo shows a group of women, all presumably well over the age of nineteen, having lunch together on their break.[60]

However, age is not the only factor that Norman Rockwell got wrong in his portrait of Rosie. Though his subject, Mary, was a working woman, the kind of work that she did was not aligned with her depiction. In reality, Mary was a telephone

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[54] Marcy Kennedy Knight and Jeff Nilsson, "Rosie the Riveter," The Saturday Evening Post, August 23, 2018, https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2013/07/rosie-the-riveter/, 1.
[55] See Appendix 10.
[56] Kennedy and Nilsson, "Rosie the Riveter," The Saturday Evening Post, 1.
[57] Parker, *Women of the Homefront,* 97.
[58] Ibid., 98.
[59] "Women Workers Employed as Wipers in the Roundhouse Having Lunch in Their Rest Room, C. & N.W. R.R., Clinton, Iowa," The Library of Congress, accessed December 1, 2023, https://www.loc.gov/item/2017878365/.
[60] See Appendix 11.

operator from Vermont. She had never held a riveting gun before; in fact, Rockwell had gone as far as to create a fake, more lightweight model of a riveting gun for Mary to hold as she posed. Instead of choosing a woman who worked in industry as a model, Rockwell instead modeled a woman who did not work in industry to fit the image he desired to create.

Another piece of visual media that offers a similar level of truth to the experiences of working women as Norman Rockwell's Rosie includes an advertisement made and produced by the United States Employment Service, or USES for short. In this image, another thin, young white woman is pictured, wearing makeup and a neat hairdo.[61] This piece of media was used by the USES to encourage women to pick up a war job; the image reads "Do the job that he left behind."[62] Besides the gross misrepresentation of what Rosies looked like in reality, this advertisement makes another false assumption. By including the phrase, "Do the job that he left behind," the USES makes the assumption that women are filling in for a man, most likely a husband or male romantic interest. However, this discounts the experiences of real Rosies who were single, widowed, or whose husbands had not left anything behind because they were not serving in the armed forces.

For example, Grace H. Kaiser, a real-life Rosie, did not replace a man she knew, such as a husband or brother.[63] She was in college studying chemistry in 1944 when she took up a job at SKF Ball Bearing Company in Hatboro, Pennsylvania. In reality, Kaiser worked a job long before the war began. Already on her second job at age 20, she worked at Goldman's Variety Store, where she sold "everything from shoes to underwear."[64] Kaiser was a young war worker not unlike the Rosies featured in advertisements in *Good Housekeeping* or *LIFE Magazine*. However, unlike the women in magazine advertisements, Kaiser dreamed of working in chemistry rather than fighting a war from her kitchen sink.

That is not to say, though, that this kind of propaganda did not influence any women to become Rosies. The constant propaganda and messages sent by visual

[61] See Appendix 12.
[62] "National Archives," National Archives Catalog, Series: World War II Posters, accessed October 10, 2023, https://research.archives.gov/id/513683.
[63] Parker, *Women of the Homefront,* 100.
[64] Ibid., 100.

media did have an effect on some women to an extent. Take, for instance, Juanita Loveless. She spoke of her reaction to the constant propaganda aimed at women:

> Actually what attracted me [to the job]— it was not the money and it was not the job because I didn't even know how much money I was going to make. But the ads— they had to be bombardments: "Do your part," "Uncle Sam needs you," "V for Victory." I got caught up in that patriotic "win the war," "help the boys."[65]

Propaganda changed the way that women in the 1940's thought about themselves and their role in society. Sometimes, like in Loveless's case, women were pressured into work by the messages they were seeing in visual media. Though, in Loveless's case she felt the responsibility to take up a wartime job, women were also pressured by rhetoric to adhere to the standards set by popular culture, society, and visual media. Through the analysis of visual American visual media that represented Rosies in the 1940's juxtaposed with the real-life experiences of working women, a glaring dissonance is clear.

After exploring the history and lives of working women in America during the 1940's, it is easy to make a connection to what is happening today in the United States in 2023. Though the lives and circumstances of working women have changed in many ways over the past decades, some of the current parallels that display a lack of change allow us to understand the eerily similar problems that women today face. When understanding the portrayals of working women in the 1940's, the most notable observation is the ways that their lives were sanitized. All visual representations of working women were clean and perfect. There was no representation of the children left without care because mothers had to work in order to put food on the table, no images of the older black Rosies who kept factories running.

Today, a similar pattern emerges in women's magazines and publications that focus on popular culture. Over the span of history, women's jobs have been romanticized and sanitized even if, in reality, they are strenuous, exhausting, and hard. All jobs can be subject to this treatment, from motherhood to executive work in business. Today, this can be observed in the picture perfect homes of family bloggers and content creators included in magazines and on social media. Additionally, magazines and popular culture publications still cater to white audiences on a mass scale. Though it may be easier to find representations of black women in media

[65] Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited,* 125.

today, the same problems from the 1940's still persist: in magazines catered to white audiences, black women consistently and intentionally are left out of the picture (both figuratively and literally).

Though the sanitation and romanticization of women's labor perseveres, so does the hard work, determination, and success of working women throughout the United States. Today, just as in the 1940's, working women are the backbone of the economy. Without them, the United States as we know it would cease to exist. Just as the war effort had working women to thank for its success both at home and abroad in the 1940's, today the United States has working women to thank for the success of the nation and its economy.

Appendix

1. J. Howard Miller's 1942 poster for Westinghouse Electric, 'We Can Do It!'


2. Lena Horne, photographed in 1944.

3. Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York's '1942 Woman of the Year' in *LIFE Magazine's* June 29th, 1942 issue.


4. Alan Dunn's March 13, 1943, cartoon for *The New Yorker.*

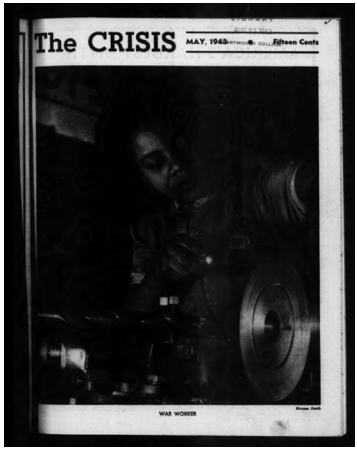
5. Chon Day's August 25th, 1945, cartoon, "*Complete Reconversion $25,"* for *The New Yorker.*

6. Kleinert's diaper advertisement in the November, 1943 issue of *Good Housekeeping.*


7. Hinds Lotion advertisement in the November, 1943 issue of *Good Housekeeping.*


8. Woman operates a hand drill at Vultee-Nashville, working on a "Vengeance" dive bomber, in Tennessee, during February 1943.

9. Cover of the May, 1943 issue of *Crisis* magazine featuring black Rosie, Ida Mae Smith.




10. Norman Rockwell's May 29, 1943, cover for the *Saturday Evening Post, Rosie the Riveter.*

11. Women workers employed as wipers in the roundhouse having lunch in their rest room at C. & N.W. R.R., in Clinton, Iowa in April, 1943.

12. United States Employment Service Advertisement, used from 1942-1945.

# The Whole World is Watching: Expecting Violence in Chicago During the 1968 Democratic National Convention

By Erin Wilcox

In 1968, a year of political theater like few others, the drama that played out on the streets of Chicago during the Democratic National Convention was palpable. The sociologist and former antiwar activist Todd Gitlin likened it to *Götterdämmerung*[1], Richard Wagner's 1876 orchestral piece about Ragnarök, the "Twilight of the Gods." Indeed, many in the youth antiwar movement believed that Chicago would act as their Ragnarök, the beginning of a revolution that would bring about a new world. For them, it was the final showdown between establishment politics and the militant youth, the starting gun of the imminent revolution against the backdrop of war overseas. Yet, polarized by conflicting methods and philosophies of protest, the movement crippled itself in its street fighting with police. The carnage was broadcasted nationwide by mainstream news, irreversibly altering the movement's legitimacy in mainstream politics.

In *Chicago '68,* David Farber carefully gives us a useful timeline of the events before and during the convention, contributing to an already vast world of Sixties historiography. Farber's thesis hinges on the idea that the antiwar organizations that came to Chicago did not help burnish the movement's image due to their polarizing approach and their lack of organizational skills. While Farber's account fits snugly within a historiographical consensus that the New Left often hurt its own cause, this essay goes further by shedding light on the roles of bureaucratic actors in the months preceding the Chicago convention. The office of Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley took actions to ensure that the convention would be safe for Democratic delegates, yet neglected to account for the thousands of demonstrators that would make their pilgrimage to Chicago. Dichotomous activist groups like Yippie and the National Mobilization Committee (MOBE) attempted to obtain separate city permits to demonstrate. When they failed to receive such permits, moderate factions of the antiwar movements were discouraged from coming to Chicago. The radicals were dead set on descending on Chicago, permits or not. With these developments as background, all parties *expected* a violent confrontation during the 1968 Democratic Convention. In the aftermath, all contested who fired the first shot.

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[1] Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, (New York: Bantam, 1987), 319.

The 1968 Convention took place against a backdrop of nationwide and global violence. The specter of nuclear annihilation, often conjoined with the ongoing war in Vietnam, weighed on the minds of young Americans. In 1968 alone, nearly 17,000 American soldiers were killed while stationed in Vietnam.[2] Politicians sold the story of victory overseas, citing a growing body count as a measure of success. The war was featured nationwide on the major news networks. Young people rejected the trend of Cold War violence, and student dissent against the war in Vietnam boomed through the end of the Sixties. Disillusioned with the hypocrisy of the society they were to inherit, activists sought to not only end the war in Vietnam, but to overhaul the entire American political system. Some held the more modest belief that, if given the right Democratic candidate, the 1968 election could end the Vietnam War.

Mayor Richard J. Daley had long wanted Chicago to host the Democratic Convention. In October 1967, Daley traveled to Washington to attend an annual party fundraiser, expressly seeking to make a pitch to hold the convention.[3] During the event, Daley approached President Johnson privately and made his proposal. At this point, Johnson still intended to run in the 1968 election, and as the incumbent he was mostly guaranteed to sit atop the Democratic Party ticket. Daley, a staunch Johnson supporter, wanted to help him win a second term. In their meeting, he implored that Johnson would lose Illinois in the election without a convention in Chicago.[4] The next morning, Chicago was designated as the site of the convention. At that point, Daley was unconcerned that the antiwar movement might mar his prized convention. As David Farber wrote, "There'd been no riots in 1967, the mayor was saying. Not like Detroit or Newark or any of those other cities… In Chicago, the people were 'positive.'"[5]

Barely two weeks after it was decided that Chicago would be the site of the Democratic Convention, the first major collective mobilization of antiwar demonstrators proceeded at the Pentagon. David Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization Committee, hoped to unify the many smaller antiwar movements into a solitary mass. He enlisted the help of rising countercultural star Jarry Rubin, a former Berkeley graduate student who was quite popular in the Bay Area's psychedelic

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[2] "Vietnam War U.S. Military Fatal Casualty Statistics," National Archives, April 29, 2008, www.archives.gov/ research/military/vietnam-war/casualty-statistics
[3] Adam Cohen and Elizabeth Taylor, *American Pharoah: Mayor Richard J. Daley: His battle for Chicago and the Nation,* (New York: Little, Brown, and Co., 2004), 446.
[4] David Farber, *Chicago '68*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 117.
[5] Ibid, 117.

scene. Dellinger, well into his fifties, had little regard for the counterculture. Yet, he recognized its potential. Norman Mailer, who would go on to testify in the 1968 Chicago Conspiracy trial, later wrote, "The invitation of Rubin was rather an expression of Dellinger's faith in the possibility […] of a combined conventional mass protest and civil disobedience which might help to unify the scattered elements of the peace movement."[6] Dellinger's main concern was that of unity.

Jerry Rubin and New York organizer Abbie Hoffman hatched a more unconventional plan for the Pentagon. They would undertake an exorcism, in which the building would levitate, shake violently, and subsequently end the war. The idea for the exorcism was not mutually exclusive from Dellinger's plans for unification. Abbie Hoffman later described their brainchild as "The blending of pot and politics into a political grass leaves movement—a cross fertilization of the Hippie and New Left philosophies."[7] The media mostly focused on Hoffman and Rubin's sensational direct action, not the more traditional aspects of the demonstration. As *Time* magazine reported, "[Hoffman] asked for a permit to levitate the Pentagon 300 feet off the ground, explaining that by chanting ancient Aramaic exorcism rites while standing in a circle around the building, they could it rise into the air, turn orange and vibrate until all evil emissions had fled. The war would end forthwith."[8] At the Pentagon, strategists discovered that manipulating the media narrative might yield positive results.

Hoffman and Rubin intended to capitalize on this new school of thought. Two months after the Pentagon, their fusion of "pot and politics" was fully realized as they began to plan a demonstration for the week of the Democratic National Convention. Among the ideas they spit-balled for Chicago were free rock concerts, sleeping on the beaches of Lake Michigan, and a "Festival of Life," to counteract the Democratic Party's "Convention of Death." The Yippies, with Hoffman and Rubin leading them, sought to create mystique. In January 1968, the Yippies made their intentions for the Convention known: ""The American Youth Festival has brought 500,000 young people to Chicago to come out, smoke pot, dance to wild music, burn draft cards, and roar like wild bands through the streets, forcing the President to bring troops back from Vietnam in order to keep the city while he is nominated under the

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[6] Norman Mailer, *Armies of the Night,* qtd. in Fred Halstead, *Out Now!: A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War,* (New York: Monad Press, 1978), 312.
[7] Abbie Hoffman, *Revolution for the Hell of It*, (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1968), 102.
[8] "Protest: The Banners of Dissent," *Time* Magazine, October 1967, 29.

protection of tear gas and bayonets."[9] The Yippies planned to use the media to draw as many people as possible to the demonstrations in Chicago.

Politically, the Yippies were not so different from their counterparts in the MOBE. The central issue for both groups was to stop the war. MOBE operated as an umbrella organization. Rather than having its own explicit agenda, it sought to unite all under the banner of antiwar dissent. In the leadup to the Pentagon demonstration, Dellinger stated that their goal was to "Maintain the fraternal ties of solidarity."[10] His philosophy of activism was open to all methods of protest, as he believed a fusion of strategies was the best method for disrupting the war machine—even if it meant accepting Hoffman and Rubin's Pentagon exorcism. In March 1968, MOBE's *Mobilizer* newsletter echoed this sentiment in its early sections on demonstrations in Chicago: "The major objectives of those days of protests are to accelerate the growth of opposition and to keep it viable *in all its depth and diversity."*[11] Where Yippie worked to manipulate the media, MOBE sought to simply *mobilize* its coalitions of smaller antiwar groups into large demonstrations. Chicago was only the next logical step following success at the Pentagon.

Early in 1968, the mainstream media's perspective on the war began to shift. Famously, NBC news anchor Walter Cronkite told his millions of viewers that the only rational way out of the war was to negotiate, not further the violence.[12] Almost simultaneously, ratings for the war began to fall dramatically, from 61 percent approval in 1965 to 42 percent in 1968.[13] The Johnson administration worried about the implications of these poll numbers. While Johnson may have been guaranteed the Democratic nomination, actions taken in Vietnam effectively soiled his chances for reelection. He discontinued his campaign at the end of March, leaving Vice President Hubert Humphrey to run in his place.

Two additional candidates also ran for the Democratic Party ticket: Senators Eugene McCarthy and Robert F. Kennedy. They were popular with young anti-war Democratic voters, though many among the student movements would not be old enough to vote during the election. Yet, as the "long, hot summer," of 1968 began,

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[9] *The Militant,* January 8, 1968, qtd. in Halstead, *Out Now!* 406.
[10] Qtd. in Farber, *Chicago '68*,58.
[11] Qtd. in Ibid, 85.
[12] "Walter Cronkite and the Vietnam War," The University of Oregon, blogs.uoregon.edu/frengsj387/vietnam-war/
[13] William L. Lunch and Peter W. Sperlich, "American Public Opinion and the War in Vietnam," *The Western Political Quarterly* 32, No. 1 (1979), 25.

two staggering assassinations took place: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4, and Senator Robert F. Kennedy on June 5. Regarding the election, a split formed within the Democratic party as Hubert Humphrey refused to take on Eugene McCarthy as his running mate.[14] This would prove to be a major shortcoming in the 1968 party platform as the Convention approached.

As the Democratic Party and antiwar factions prepared for Chicago, Mayor Richard J. Daley was most concerned with keeping the convention safe for delegates. Convention facilities were meticulously fortified with tall chain-link fences, and all manhole covers surrounding the International Amphitheater were sealed with tar. These precautions stemmed from the slew of assassinations that had taken place during the decade. Daley feared that an attempted murder might take place during the convention. David Farber wrote, "Three members of the Cook County jail stated that members of the Blackstone Rangers, Chicago's largest street gang, had been hired by revolutionaries to assassinate the Democratic presidential candidates, Mayor Daley, and perhaps others."[15] Though these claims were later proved illegitimate, they fueled Daley's anxieties.

Publicly, Daley appeared unconcerned about any major antiwar demonstrations in Chicago. In interviews, he constantly implored that "No thousands will come to this city and take over our streets, our city, and our convention."[16] Especially in the aftermath of the riots following Dr. King's assassination, Daley worried more about the threat of racial violence, rather than antiwar demonstrations. Alderman Leon Despres later said, "You could see it all summer. He was running around the city constantly trying to give the impression of doing things for the black communities."[17] To be sure, the prospect of race rioting was not unwarranted. Civil Rights leader Dick Gregory threatened to lead a massive nonviolent protest through the city during the Convention in response to Daley's recent inactivity in racial integration.[18] Yet, many black militants left town before the convention, knowing that Chicago Police would give them trouble regardless of whether they were

[14] Kent G. Seig, "The 1968 Presidential Election and Peace in Vietnam," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (1996), 1064.
[15] Farber, *Chicago '68,* 163.
[16] Ibid, 123.
[17] Mike Royoko, *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago,* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1971), 177.
[18] Farber, *Chicago '68,* 122.

involved with the demonstrations.[19] Like most other anti-war protests, Chicago would be a majority white affair.

In late March, Yippies from the Chicago-based Free City met with Deputy Mayor David Stahl. They hoped to obtain legal permits to demonstrate during the convention. Ambitiously, they hoped to follow through with their plans for the "Festival of Life," and in conjuncture hoped to gain permission for their followers to sleep in the parks. In the initial meeting, the Yippies announced their interest in using Grant Park for festival purposes. Stahl indicated that the use of Grant Park would not be possible, and offered Lincoln Park tentatively in its place. Three months later, in June, the Yippies were allowed to move forward with permit applications; yet the city would not allow demonstrators to sleep in the parks, and thereby refused to suspend the curfew. Multiple applications were filed for the use of Lincoln Park and Soldier Field. Although Soldier Field had been marked as unoccupied during this time, the Chicago Parks District rescinded Yippie applications, claiming that it was booked during Convention week for President Johnson's birthday celebration.

Through this standoff, it became clear that the city was purposefully stalling. One official recalled that, "The city was interested in discouraging a massive influx of demonstrators into the city during convention week." [20] Offended, the Yippies issued a statement to the underground press discouraging their leaders from attending the Convention demonstrations. "Don't come to Chicago if you expect a five-day exchange of life, music, and love. The word is out. Chicago may host a festival of blood."[21] Discouraged by the city government's unwillingness to cooperate, the Yippies fully withdrew all applications for permits in Grant Park, Lincoln Park, and Soldier Field. Still, they warned that demonstrators would come to Chicago regardless of legality. Hoffman worried about the safety of demonstrators without legal protection. He wrote,

They convinced us that we had to start talking about violence in Chicago and that it was gonna happen and that people oughta prepare for it and we oughta get a little more serious in our statements and eliminate a lot of the bullshit… You know, we had to start setting up medical care centers and we had to prepare, we had to start

[19] Royoko, *Boss,* 177.
[20] Qtd. in Daniel Walker, *Rights in Conflict: Chicago's 7 Brutal Days,* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1968), 39.
[21] Qtd. in Gitlin, *The Sixties,* 324.

telling kids about base-line, about self-defense maneuvers… We had to prepare for war.[22]

Regardless of legal permits, hardline antiwar radicals were prepared to "tear up the town and convention,' and even to die in Lincoln Park.'"[23] MOBE worked separately to obtain demonstration permits from the city government. Its requests were far more ambitious than Yippie's: three parade permits, and one assembly permit were requested for August 28th. Permission for demonstrators to camp in six parks, including Lincoln Park, was also requested. Despite their more refined repertoire, MOBE affiliates experienced a similar lack of cooperation from the city government. Mark Simons, a law student affiliated with MOBE, attempted many times to reach the office of David Stahl, though his calls were often not taken. His attempts at arranging a meeting were unsuccessful until the beginning of August. After meeting with Simons and MOBE leader Rennie Davis, Stahl claimed inconclusively that he would be in touch. As they waited for a response, MOBE reduced its three-permit request, now planning only one march to the Amphitheater. Rennie Davis stated, "We wanted to have legal and undisrupted demonstrations, and we felt the real power of our coming to Chicago would be around those public hearings at the Amphitheater, and that's what we really wanted to secure."[24] Again, the city government stalled its permit decisions. No permits had been issued as late as August 12, two weeks before the convention. As negotiations closed, exactly one permit was granted: an afternoon rally at the Grant Park bandshell on August 28.

As convention week inched closer, all parties prepared for the worst. The *New York Times* reported that, "The host city, under Mayor Daley's tight control, is showing no hospitality to demonstrations of any kind— legal as well as illegal." In response, onetime SDS president Tom Hayden claimed that the very presence of law enforcement would "Show the increasing bankruptcy, and the reliance on violence instead of persuasion and consensus by the American rulers."[25] *The Guardian* likewise published several pages on what activists could expect, should they brave the slew of illegal demonstrations: "A major element in the drama will derive from the fact that the Democratic party convention will not be able to proceed except under the protection of National Guard bayonets, and with the massing of the almost

[22] Qtd. in Walker, *Rights in Conflict*, 27.
[23] Farber, *Chicago '68*, 162.
[24] Qtd in Walker, *Rights in Conflict*, 33.
[25] *The Daily News,* August 21, 1968, "Protesters Map Chaos, III." Richard J. Daley Collection, Box 64, Folder 6, Special Collections, The University of Illinois Chicago.

12,000-man city police force […]."[26] In the same magazine, MOBE posted an advertisement requesting volunteer marshals for their cause. The ultimate goal was to keep violence to a minimum. Yet, many moderate antiwar democrats speculated that certain demonstration leaders wanted to provoke violence. David Dellinger later recalled, "In my recruiting trips around the country […] the two questions I was always asked were: (1) Is there any chance that the police won't create a bloodbath? (2) Are you sure that Tom [Hayden] and Rennie [Davis] don't want one?"[27]

Mayor Daley did everything in his power to keep Chicago demonstration-free. His offices conducted extensive investigations into the antiwar movement. "Of the five thousand," they concluded, "only a few hundred could have been labeled as revolutionaries." [28] Later, it was revealed that Daley's men had infiltrated antiwar groups to dissuade them from attending any convention week demonstrations. The Radical Organizing Committee, one subject of Daley's sabotage, suffered a dramatic drop in its attendance: "Instead of 200 busloads of demonstrators coming to Chicago, they ended up with eight carloads, totaling 60 people."[29] Though his actions were questionable, Daley's anxiety was not unfounded. The FBI had proof of antiwar leaders touring the country and telling their constituents to prepare for war in Chicago. [30] Daley, too, prepared for the worst. The entirety of the Chicago Police Department was working ten-hour shifts, and the Illinois National Guard had been called to supplement. As the convention began on August 26, Daley condemned the demonstrators in his opening speech. "I do not refer to the extremists… who seek to destroy instead of to build—to those would make a mockery of our institutions and values—nor do I refer to those who have been successful in convincing some people that theatrical protest is rational dissent."[31]

As predicted, violence shook the streets of Chicago during convention week. Protesters who attempted to sleep overnight in the parks were harassed by police. Though the protesters usually tried to maintain occupation of the parks, they often cracked under police pressure. Throughout the many confrontations with police, unsuccessful attempts were made by demonstration leaders to regain control of their

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[26] *The Guardian,* August 17, 1968, "Chicago: Politicians, Activists Ready for Action," Richard J. Daley Collection, Box 66, Folder 1, Special Collections, The University of Illinois Chicago.
[27] Qtd. in Gitlin, *The Sixties,* 323.
[28] Royoko, *Boss,* 178.
[29] Qtd. in Cohen and Taylor, *American Pharoah*, 463.
[30] Farber, *Chicago '68*, 161.
[31] Qtd. in Cohen and Taylor, *American Pharoah*, 473.

followers. The Chicago Police Department itself seemed eager for the violence: "There seemed to be almost without exception an attitude or mentality of impatience of 'getting started' and it was the normal thing for policemen to talk about how anxious they were to crack some heads."[32]

The worst of the skirmishes took place on August 28, during and after MOBE's legal rally at the Grant Park bandshell. After two long days of debate inside the convention hall, the antiwar peace plank was defeated by the Democratic delegation. Antiwar activists were sidelined by their own political party. The crowd at the bandshell was already angry, many were looking for a fight. When a group attempted to remove the American flag from the bandshell's flagpole, police beat them ruthlessly. Rennie Davis attempted to calm the crowd, but he too was clubbed by police. Witnessing this, Tom Hayden outburst to a crowd of thousands: "Let us make sure that if blood is going to flow, let it flow all over this city."[33] Meanwhile, the National Guard surrounded the park, provoking the demonstrators to flood onto Michigan Avenue. The crowd massed at the foot of the Conrad-Hilton Hotel, where many of the delegates were staying. News cameras, stationed both on the streets and on the roof of the hotel, broadcast the ensuing violence to millions of television sets nationwide. Many policemen removed their badges and nameplates and clubbed people—including bystanders and newsmen—indiscriminately. Demonstrators, especially the most militant and agile, met them readily with rocks and other objects. Those who remained unharmed on the sidelines chanted, "The whole world is watching."

Senator Eugene McCarthy, watching from his fifteenth-floor suite in the Hilton, told a reporter that the scene looked "like a Breughel."[34] Later, he set up a clinic in his suite for injured protesters. The Students for McCarthy, perhaps the most straight-laced among antiwar groups, also joined the siege. Mark Weiss, "a slight, 18-year-old sophomore at Stanford," declared: "L.B.J. and Nixon and Daley and Humphrey have been handing out invitations. Tonight, the kids are handing in their R.S.V.P.'s."[35] Alongside many of his friends in Students for McCarthy, Weiss joined the chaos on Michigan Avenue shouting Che Guevara slogans.

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[32] Farber, *Chicago '68,* 191.
[33] Qtd in Ibid, 196-197.
[34] Qtd. in Ibid, 201.
[35] Thomas Thompson, "The Dream that Died on Michigan Avenue," *Life* Magazine, September 6, 1968.

Mayor Daley was outraged at the coverage the demonstrators were receiving. He stated: "This administration and the people of Chicago have never condoned brutality at any time, but they will never permit a lawless violent group of terrorists to menace the lives of a million people, destroy the purpose of this national political Convention, and take the streets of Chicago." [36] By the end of the convention, Daley's Chicago had fallen into the very chaos he had tried so hard to avoid.

In the aftermath, many antiwar leaders thought the violence in Chicago had been a necessary evil. They had shown the nation the extent to which they were willing to go for their cause, and had illuminated the violent reality of dissent. The "revolution" was broadcast nationwide via television news. Abbie Hoffman wrote,

> The rhetoric of the Convention was allotted the fifty minutes of the hour, we were given the ten or less usually reserved for the commercials. *We were an advertisement for revolution….* All people had to know was that America's children were getting slaughtered in the streets of Chicago and the networks were refusing to show it.[37]

Though they hadn't necessarily manipulated the media, the Yippies were awarded primetime coverage. Despite his pacifism, David Dellinger likewise called it a "tragic victory." Todd Gitlin, who was present during the skirmishes, recalled: "Chicago was the movement's sealed-off world pushed to some nth degree of emergency, so that the people going to work seemed like freaks. We were awash in the purity of the we-versus-them feeling on the streets, the crazy battlefield sense that all of life was concentrated *right here,* forever."[38] Among many, there was a clear consensus: Chicago was a success, despite the cost of immense violence. Though it did not start their revolution, they broadcasted their message to a national stage.

Many mainstream news publications were critically sympathetic of the demonstrators. The week following the Convention, *Time* magazine published, "Foolheartedly and arrogant as their tactics often were, the main goal of the protesters was to express their rejection of both the war and party bossism, and they undeniably made it register in the minds of Democratic leaders. Ironically—and perhaps significantly—the demonstrators' most effective allies were the police,

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[36] Qtd. in Ibid, *Chicago '68*, 203.
[37] Hoffman, *Revolution*, 133-134.
[38] Gitlin, The *Sixties*, 335.

without whose brutal aid the protest would not have been so striking."[39] Some magazines allowed antiwar activists to publish their side of the story. "They were not good losers," Thomas Thompson wrote for *Life,* "They were devastated losers."[40]

Mayor Daley defended police actions as well, claiming law and order against the recent trend of social unrest. The *Tampa Tribune* supported Daley's approach: "The city was wise in refusing demonstrators permission to march on the International Amphitheater where the Democrats met. Granting of march permits, he said, would have 'aggravated rather than eliminated the tension.'"[41] The police also deflected blame for the riots. Frank Sullivan, director of public information for the Chicago Police Department "accused news media and the major broadcasting networks in particular of a 'colossal propaganda campaign' against the police and in support of a 'pitiful handful of revolutionaries' […] He denied repeatedly the newsmen's accounts of excessive force in police clashes with demonstrators."[42]

Regardless of any alleged bias among the news media, a striking amount of publications sided with Daley and the Chicago Police, some even wishing for harsher brutality. Conservative columnist James Kilpatrick, who had witnessed the demonstrations first hand, wrote,

> Let us abandon the addle-headed notion that these youths are innocent idealists, dedicated solely to protesting the war in Vietnam. They are at bottom simply nihilists, dedicated to destruction for the sake of destruction. In their disregard for the rights of other Americans, they are as ugly and evil as any gangster mob.[43]

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[39] "Nation: Who Were the Protesters?" *Time* Magazine*,* September 6, 1968.
[40] Thompson, "The Dream that Died on Michigan Avenue."
[41] *The Tampa Tribune,* September 3, 1968, "Daley Charges Chicago Riots Distorted," Richard J. Daley Collection, Box 64, Folder 6, Special Collections, The University of Illinois Chicago.
[42] The Associated Press, "Chicago's Police Defend Tactics in Disorders," Richard J. Daley Collection, Box 66, Folder 1, Special Collections, The University of Illinois Chicago.
[43] James Kilpatrick, "Word of Daley and the Police," Richard J. Daley Collection, Box 64, Folder 6, Special Collections, the University of Illinois Chicago."

This analysis was shared by many others. In an opinion piece titled "Give Police Heavier Clubs," L. David Lewis wrote, "There seems to be only one title that benefits our present-day rebels in Chicago. This title being in a word—Traitor." [44]

Many sympathized with this perspective. Letters flooded the Mayor's office in the months following the convention. One resident of San Francisco wrote Mayor Daley, "Bravo! Bravo! Bravo! Your treatment of the yippies, hippies, junkies, hoodlums, bums, and other scum during the recent convention was perfect."[45] Even Gitlin stated candidly, "… Our giddiness kept us from reckoning with the majority of the 'whole world,' that, watching, loathed us."[46]

In retrospect, all parties understood—and, in some cases, welcomed—the inevitability of street fighting. Movement celebrities such as Hayden and Hoffman believed that violence was an agent of demonstration, a way to turn people toward their cultural and political revolution. Well into his official political career as the governor of California, Hayden denied that anyone had wanted violence:

> "Our answer was that we *expected* violence, from the police and federal authorities, but we would not initiate ourselves. Committing ourselves more formally to nonviolence, we wrote that while the demonstration would be 'clogging the streets of Chicago with people demanding peace, justice, and self-determination for all people,' the protest campaign 'should not plan violence and disruption against the Democratic National Convention. It should be nonviolent and legal."[47]

Davis, Dellinger, Hayden, Hoffman, and Rubin, alongside activists Jon Froines and Lee Weiner, were put on trial together in Cook County on charges of Conspiracy to cross state lines and incite a riot. Their infamous Chicago 7 Conspiracy Trial, presided by Judge Julius Hoffman, would end predictably: the five organizers were guilty as charged, and Froines and Weiner were acquitted. Black Panther Chairman Bobby Seale, originally among them, was later tried separately.

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[44] L. David Lewis, "Give Police Heavier Clubs," Richard J. Daley Collection, Box 64, Folder 6, Special Collections, the University of Illinois Chicago.
[45] Letter from Carl C. G. Deitrich to Mayor Richard J. Daley, September 7, 1968, Richard J. Daley Collection, Box 65, Folder 1, Special Collections, the University of Illinois Chicago.
[46] Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 335.
[47] Tom Hayden, *Reunion*, (New York: Random House, 1988), 262.

The Conspiracy Trial verdict was at least somewhat valid: though they did not act together, they had incited a riot. Disillusionment with American society, especially in the context of war-torn Vietnam, fueled the aggression of activists. Chicago was neither the first nor last of such chaotic outbursts by an increasingly militant youth. As leaders had warned, hardline radicals came to Chicago regardless of legal permits. Mayor Daley did not welcome the violence, yet did very little to accommodate the onslaught of demonstrators. Exactly one permit was granted across the three days of convention. Instead of seeking compromise, Daley met demonstrators with force. It is no mistake of bureaucracy that the Illinois National Guard was mobilized in the weeks preceding the convention, nor that Chicago Police worked twelve-hour shifts throughout the week. It is inarguable that Daley could have taken further measures to prevent large-scale street fighting. Yet, both demonstrators and the city government were responsible for initiating the violence they had anticipated.

# Holy Women in Disguise? Gender-Crossing Saints in Late Antiquity

***By Brianna Bowman***

The fluidity of Christian doctrine gradually disappeared during Late Antiquity with the institutionalization of the Church, the codification of the faith, and the broader circulation of saints' lives. Among these lives, the hagiography of cross-dressing saints gained increasing popularity during Late Antiquity; scholars estimate that cross-dressing saints' lives amounted to at least fifteen distinct lives and possibly as many as thirty.[1] While their hagiographies were widely accepted in their own time, these saints' lives raise several questions for the modern reader. One pressing issue in the historiography is how to classify these saints; that is, were these women simply wearing men's clothes as a means to an end? Or, did this change in appearance mean something more? Although it remains difficult to uncover the personal identities of these saints, to understand the phenomenon of donning men's clothing as a mere attempt at disguise ignores the complexity of the behavior. Moreover, that claim fails to situate cross-dressing saints in historical context. The lives of these holy women reveal a tension regarding the role of women in early monasticism. These saints could only become monks as men but their outward holiness depended on their internal female identity and its suppression and denial.

Gender identity in early Eastern monasticism was closely linked to sanctity. Ascetic practice rejected all things earthbound, including gender. True asceticism, then, embraced a certain genderlessness, both in behavior and appearance.[2] Eastern Christian writers associated gender with the creation of mankind. Gregory of Nyssa noted a unity between the two genders within the human soul. He further argued that sex differentiation was foreign to the nature of holiness and divinity.[3] These ideas speak to the spectrum of gender in early monasticism in which an individual might not express an entirely male or entirely female identity. And yet, very clear distinctions between what was male and what was female existed at the same time. Male identity was marked not only by appearance, but through the embodiment of

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[1] There is a lot of debate about the number of saints' lives written in the late antique period. This estimate amalgamates the variety of numbers I have seen across sources.

[2] Chiara O Tommasi, "Cross-Dressing as Discourse and Symbol in Late Antique Religion and Literature,"in *TransAntiquity: Cross-Dressing and Transgender Dynamics in the Ancient World*, ed. Domitilla Campanile, Filippo Carlá-Uhink, and Margherita Facella (New York: Routledge, 2017), 125-26.

[3] Hannah Hunt, "Transvestite Women Saints: Performing Asceticism in Late Antiquity," *RIHA Journal : Journal of the International Association of Research Institutes in the History of Art* spec. issue, no. 12 (2019): 6.

strength in body, mind, and spirit.[4] Men were superior and powerful, they were leaders and meant to be followed. Female identity presented as the precise opposite. Women were feeble, easily influenced, and often fell victim to sinful tendencies.[5] This distinction between male and female complicates how we characterize the behavior of cross-dressing saints.

In terms of their behavior, the saints in question defied this construct of a non-binary gender. Their presentation always assumed a definitely female or definitely male nature. When they were in the dress of a woman, they embodied the traits and character of a woman. When they adopted a man's dress, however, they were portrayed as having male traits, not just a male appearance. In the same way that theologians wrote about the shedding of all gender identifiers to achieve asceticism, these saints shed one aspect of their gender for a more favorable one. Saints who shed their identifiably female traits, which were seen as barriers to their spiritual development, were praised by the Church.[6] While they were not truly genderless, the act of shedding a gender identity contributed to their veneration and eventual canonization.

Hagiographies both inform readers about the saints and reflect the values held during the time of their composition. They were meant to serve as powerful examples for Christians and to praise an ascetic lifestyle. In some cases, the process of writing hagiographies was part of ascetic practices and helped the authors achieve a higher state of holiness.[7] Their significance, however, does not come from a faithful retelling of events. Authors took creative liberties to enhance both the literary appeal of the work as well as to elevate the sanctity and power of the saint. Instead of pure historical truth, the contribution of hagiographies lies in what Klazina Staat calls intended and ethical truths. The intended truths of these hagiographies reveal crucial sociological information such as social norms and philosophical concerns of the time in which the work was produced.[8] Ethical truths reveal more about what exactly the authors wanted to convey as holy. Hagiographies were meant to be holy examples to

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[4] Ashley Purpura, "Innovating "Traditional" Women's Roles: Byzantine Insights for Orthodox Christian Gender Discourse," *Modern Theology* 36, no. 3 (2020): 8.
[5] Dyan Elliot, "Gender and the Christian Traditions," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 30.
[6] Hunt, "Transvestite Women Saints," 6.
[7] Derek Krueger, "Hagiography as an Ascetic Practice in the Early Christian East," *The Journal of Religion* 79, no. 2 (1999): 216.
[8] Klazina Staat, "Late Antique Latin Hagiography, Truth and Fiction: Trends in Scholarship," *L'Antiquité Classique* 87 (2018): 217.

follow; real or not real, the story's events were an idealized version of the saint's biography.[9] They were still very much true to both the authors and the audience. This truth, however, came from the message they communicated instead of an entirely accurate recounting of events.

In hagiographies of gender-crossing saints, common attributes and themes emerge. In every case, the saint was born female and later rejected their feminine appearance and chose to live their lives as men. Most often, this involved the adoption of a monk's clothing and hairstyle as they entered monasteries. These saints often rejected past wealth or sinful lives as well as their femininity. In many cases, their assigned sex was only revealed after their deaths, in a climactic moment of the hagiography. This was often the moment when those present truly venerated the saint, as they were in awe at the fact that a woman could act in such a holy way.[10] These saints were revered as holy men in their lifetimes but were often remembered in death as holy women.[11]

In the study of cross-dressing saints, a debate exists about the extent to which their gender presentation was simply a means to an end. Some scholars argue that these saints donned a man's appearance rather than a male identity. Others look at these saints through a lens of transgender studies to show how their appearance represented something far more complicated. The debate is difficult to navigate primarily because it is problematic to retroactively assign certain labels of gender identity to individuals who neither openly claimed that identity, nor lived in a time in which the given vocabulary existed.

Crystal Lynn Lubinsky, for example, argues that despite the masculinization of these saints' appearances, behaviors, and social identities, they were still holy women.[12] She addresses three different types of masculinity within her argument: outward, social, and inward. Lubinsky uses these facets of masculinity to argue that the masculinization of the saints can be explained entirely to achieve holiness. She argues that these saints achieved that holiness as women, not as women acting as

[9] Staat, "Late Antique Latin Hagiography," 218.
[10] Kathryn Leigh Phillips, ""You Are Correctly Called a Man, Because You Act Manfully": A Transgender Studies Approach to Gender-Crossing Saints in Late Antiquity," (Ph.D diss., University of California Riverside, 2020), 2.
[11] Phillips, "You Are Correctly Called a Man," 4.
[12] Crystal Lynn Lubinsky, "Removing Masculine Layers to Reveal a Holy Womanhood: The Female Transvestite Monks of Late Antiquity Eastern Christianity" (Ph.D diss., The University of Edinburgh, 2012), 2.

men.[13] These saints, to Lubinsky, were holy women hidden under layers of masculinity imposed upon them. While Lubinsky's argument offers helpful insights, such as her description of the different facets of masculinity, her article still leaves many questions unanswered. She also makes some sweeping generalizations about both saints' motives and authors' choices. While the desire for freedom may have motivated a saint to shed their female identity, this explanation cannot be assumed *a priori*. Lubinsky describes these saints as enmeshed within a multi-layer construct of masculinity but ultimately perceives them as holy women.[14] Lubinsky's argument has merit but her reduction of this complex behavior to just a woman in disguise seems too simple.

Contrary to Lubinsky's argument, M.W. Bychowski argues that distinct and authentic transgender identities existed in the medieval world.[15] The term "authentic" is imperative to Bychowski's argument, as it renders a saint like Marinos and other figures like him as individuals who lived their true identities. Bychowski claims that these figures were aware of others like them through earlier hagiographies and likely aspired to imitate or emulate these earlier examples. Her argument hinges on two important concepts in Late Antique Christianity. The first, the *imago Dei*, understood that each person was created as their authentic selves in the image of God. The second concept, *imitatio Christi*, or the imitation of Christ, was equally fundamental to Christian asceticism[16] Using Saint Marinos as an example, Bychowski locates gender-crossing saints at the intersection of these two ideas. The notion of *imago Dei* did not undermine the experience of Saint Marinos' transformation; rather, as Bychowski states, it reinforced a portrayal of Marinos as radiant expressions of God's will. By living their authentic truths, these saints became projections of *imago Dei*. To do that required defying earthly conventions but in the name of living according to God's vision. Bychowski posits that, by respecting the *imago Dei*, these saints empowered others to live their own lives authentically in *imitatio Christi.* For example, Bychowski points out that the superior of the monastery, who discovered Marinos' secret and then wrongfully accused him of impregnating the innkeeper's daughter, was deeply affected when the truth was

[13] Lubinsky, "Removing Masculine Layers," 5.
[14] Ibid., 12.
[15] M.W. Bychowski, "The Authentic Lives of Transgender Saints: Imago Dei and imitatio Christi in the Life of Saint Marinos the Monk," in *Trans and Genderqueer Subjects in Medieval Hagiography*, eds. Alicia Spencer-Hall and Blake Gutt, (Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 247.
[16] Bychowski, "Authentic Lives," 252-53.

revealed and repented to Marinos for his sins.[17] Bychowski notes that the scholarly tendency to place transgender saints on the margins of society has prevented the proper study of these saints. These saints were not anomalies or outsiders, as Bychowski argues, and only by acknowledging them as more mainstream can we arrive at a more nuanced perspective of sanctity in early monasticism.[18]

Bychowski challenges the pattern of thinking through a cisnormative lens and sees these saints in a way that brings their authentic selves at the forefront. There are, however, limitations to Bychowski's argument. Her theory of the *imitatio transvesti*, for example, perhaps reaches too far in its presumption that cross-dressing saints were influencing those around them in significant ways. But her theory of *imago Dei* presents a convincing argument that the saints rooted their authentic existence in their chosen identities. Kathryn Leigh Phillips agrees and argues that there is little substantial evidence that Marinos' gender transformation was simply a means of entering monastic life.[19] Although Phillips' argument does not extend to the lengths of Bychowski's claims, both scholars come to similar conclusions. Traditionally, scholars have explained Marinos' gender transformation as one of necessity as there were no monasteries nearby open to women. In this interpretation, his change in appearance allowed the saint to navigate a deeply patriarchal society. Phillips argues that Marinos' existence as a man should be left as exactly that. She examines the saint without additional caveats or explanations beyond the fact that Marinos was born female and died as a man.

Phillips addresses three main questions surrounding saints like Marinos; namely, what is the significance of the pronouns used in the saint's life? What options were available at the time for women seeking an ascetic life? And last, how should we understand parenthood in Marinos' story? In terms of pronouns, some scholars have argued that a cross-dressing saints retained femininity if the author of the life continued to use female pronouns after the gender transformation.[20] Because Marinos' saint's life used mostly male pronouns throughout, Phillips explains that

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[17] Bychowski, "Authentic Lives," 260.
[18] Ibid., 261.
[19] Kathryn Leigh Phillips, ""You Are Correctly Called a Man, Because You Act Manfully": A Transgender Studies Approach to Gender-Crossing Saints in Late Antiquity," (Ph.D diss., University of California Riverside, 2020), 82.
Ironically, considering the framing of her work, Phillips also chooses to use feminine pronouns and the name Mary within her work. I have chosen to stick to the names and pronouns as they are used chronologically in the original text.
[20] Ibid., 89.

pronouns alone cannot fully explain gender identity in these texts. As for the limited options for women seeking monastic life, Phillips points out that there is no historical evidence to support this claim. Given that scholarship that associates cross-dressing with a lack of female monasteries available is merely based on assumption, Philips states that we must find some other extrinsic motivator for Marinos' transformation.[21] Phillips further argues that because Marinos' chose to accept accusations for a crime that he could not have committed rather than betray himself as a woman, then his adoption of male identity could not have been a pragmatic decision..[22]

Phillips concludes that Marinos did not transition into a male identity out of love for his father and to join him in the monastery, nor was did he seek to live an ascetic life.[23] Traditionally, scholars rely on exclusively extrinsic motivators to explain gender variance in medieval hagiographies, but Phillips proves that these figures can exist authentically regardless of external forces. While her use of feminine pronouns and the name "Mary" for Saint Marinos causes some confusion considering the framing of her argument, Philips shows that nuance is the key to understanding cross-dressing saints.

As this essay shifts focus to examine a few of the hagiographies of these saints, it is important to bear in mind the complexities of this material. At the same time, in many ways the hagiographies of gender-crossing saints were no different than those of any other saint. They were idealized and venerated in texts detailing their lives and the holy acts they performed. Through their hagiographies, they also negotiated and challenged the bounds of a "typical" gender presentation. While there are some saints who did fit the label of a holy woman in disguise (one of which will be discussed below), many did not and presented something more complex than a disguise. This complexity can be seen particularly well in the lives of three saints: Saint Marinos, Saint Pelagia, and Saint Matrona of Perge. These saints' lives almost emulate each other in some ways, and in others their stories take vastly different paths. The notion that the behavior of these saints can be attributed to a lack of options for ascetic women could apply to the respective lives of Saints Marinos and Pelagia but not to the life of Matrona, Matrona had the option to join a female community and instead chose to enter the monastery as a man. Despite their

[21] Phillips, "You are Correctly Called a Man," 94-95.
[22] Ibid., 105.
[23] Ibid., 121.

differences, these saints existed as part of a larger phenomenon that linked gender presentation with sanctity and holiness.

The life of Saint Marinos begins with a conversation between a father and his child, Mary. The father explained to his child that he intends to enter a monastery and devote himself to God. Mary wished to follow him for the salvation of both of their souls but could not because women were not permitted to enter monasteries. As a solution to this roadblock, Mary crossed gender lines, adopting a man's appearance, and taking the name Marinos.[24] Marinos and his father lived together as monks in the monastery, leading holy and pious lives. Eventually, his father passed, but Marinos continued to live in the monastery as a monk.

After many years spent serving in the monastery, Marinos was accused of impregnating a woman. While he and a few fellow monks were staying at an inn, a soldier had relations with the innkeeper's daughter, who later became pregnant. Not wanting to face the repercussions of his actions, the soldier instructed the innkeeper's daughter to tell her father that Marinos was responsible for her pregnancy. The innkeeper then went to the monastery where he confronted Marinos, who willingly accepted the blame for a crime he could not have committed.[25] He was exiled from the monastery and left to raise the child on his own. After a few years, the other monks at the monastery observed how faithful Marinos had remained to his ascetic life after being exiled and Marinos and the child were allowed back into the monastery where they lived and served until Marinos' death. Only upon preparing him for burial did the other monks learn of Marinos' secret and therefore his innocence of the crime for which he was accused.[26]

Marinos' saint's life is but one example of a gender-crossing saint that cannot be interpreted simply as a holy woman in disguise. Marinos remained male even when it became detrimental to him and his search for salvation. He originally entered the monastery with his father because Marinos feared that his soul would be destroyed if his father were to leave without him as he would have inherited all his

[24] Saint Proclus, "The Life and Conduct of the Blessed Mary Who Changed Her Name to Marinos," trans. Nicholas Constas, in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 7. Again, I have chosen to use the names and pronouns as they are used sequentially through the text. The original edition only begins to use the name Marinos and male pronouns after the transformation happens. My work follows suit.
[25] Ibid., 9.
[26] Ibid., 11.

father's worldly possessions.[27] After the death of his father, however, Marinos stayed in the same monastery as a male monk. If his gender presentation had been purely a disguise, Marinos could have left the monastery after his father's death and lived out his life as a holy woman elsewhere. He did not. He continued to exist in both appearance and identity as a man, even when it would have helped him to renounce maleness. If his appearance served solely to make possible a devout and holy life, Marinos would have likely revealed his secret when he was accused of fathering a child. His original reasoning for changing his name and appearance was to enter the monastery but his choice ended up being the reason he was cast out of it for impregnating a woman out of wedlock.[28] If Marinos had revealed that he had been living in secret among men, the punishment would have likely been the same- he would have been cast out. In theory, he had nothing to lose. But the choice to maintain his identity as Marinos suggests that there is something more to his appearance than just a means to an end. It was tied to a deep sense of self and a loyalty to his way of life.

Saint Pelagia also presented as male in dress, but like Marinos her behavior cannot be dismissed as just a disguise. In her early life, Pelagia was a prostitute and could be seen walking through the city of Antioch clad in expensive clothing and jewelry.[29] One night, she happened to walk into a church service, wherein she heard Saint Nonnus teaching the word of God. She was so moved by Nonnus' teaching that she instructed some children to go find where he was staying.[30] She begged to be baptized and forgiven for her sins, and Nonnus obliged. After she converted and was baptized, Pelagia gave up all her worldly possessions and devoted herself entirely to her faith. One morning, she took a monk's old clothing, became Pelagius and disappeared from Antioch.[31] Pelagius went and lived in a cell on the Mount of Olives and became well known amongst the people there as a devout and holy man. Pelagius remained in that cell until the day that James the Deacon, who wrote the saint's life, found him dead. Identical to a scene from the life of Saint Marinos, it was only upon the anointing process that they discovered Pelagius' secret. The monks

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[27] Proclus, "The Life and Conduct," 7.
[28] Ibid., 9.
[29] Jacob the Deacon, "Pelagia of Antioch," trans. Sebastian P. Brock and Susan Ashbrook Harvey, in *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*, ed. Peter Brown (Berkeley: California University Press, 1987), 42.
This saint's life, unlike Marinos', uses primarily female pronouns throughout but switches between the use of Pelagia and Pelagius in regard to the saint's name.
[30] Jacob the Deacon, "Pelagia of Antioch," 47.
[31] Ibid., 58.

and clergy members who had gathered around the body continued to bless and revere the saint despite this new information.[32]

Like the story of Saint Marinos, Pelagia's saint's life serves as an example of a saint challenging traditional constructs of gender. Unlike Marinos, however, Pelagia did not cross gender lines to overcome some barrier. Pelagia was forgiven for the sins she committed as a harlot and began her holy life as a woman, then she cut her hair, wore men's clothes, and changed her name. She lived the remainder of her life as a recluse, locked away in a cell in a mountain with no doors and only one window.[33] She had a support system of monks and a deaconess, Ramona, with whom she was staying. Still, she ran off to live life in a cave as a man. There seems no logical extrinsic motivation for Pelagia to change her appearance. It did not help her get into a monastery, nor did it serve any other logistical purpose. Possibly she felt guilty for amassing so much wealth through prostitution and wanted to rebuke all worldly possessions.[34] While there were different social perceptions of men running off to live in caves than there were for women, the regard and recognition of solitude was not something Pelagia sought. It seems unlikely that anyone would have stopped her from going and living in a doorless cave, but her status as a holy man appears unexpected. Like Marinos, Pelagia's transformation hints at something deeper than disguise. While Marinos' transformation was necessary for him to enter the monastery with his father, Pelagia's salvation did not rest in the hands of her male appearance.

For men as well as women, flight to the desert and devotion to an ascetic lifestyle was not unusual. In the hagiography of some women, such as the life of Mary of Egypt, the saints lose their sense of femininity becoming almost masculine or even genderless. Mary went into the desert and became emaciated and frail, unidentifiable from her previous appearance. However, in those writings, the authors attribute the woman's lack of feminine identifiers as a natural consequence of a devoutly ascetic lifestyle. The loss of femininity in these cases was not a choice. Pelagia's saint's life conveys a very different message. Pelagia made a deliberate choice to shed her feminine identity and adopt a male one. She explicitly chose to put on a monk's clothes, cut her hair, and adopt a man's name.[35] Their agency in defining their own gender distinguishes Pelagia and Marinos among ascetic women.

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[32] Jacob the Deacon, "Pelagia of Antioch," 61.
[33]Ibid., 59.
[34] Ibid., 58.
[35] Jacob the Deacon, "Pelagia of Antioch," 58.

Unlike Marinos and Pelagia, some gender-crossing saints had the option to join a female monastery and still chose not to. The life of Saint Matrona of Perge provides a good example. Her story began as the story of a typical lay Christian. She was born in Perge, an important ecclesiastical city in what is now Turkey, and had a relatively typical upbringing. When she came of age, she was married to a man named Dometianos.[36] She and her husband then traveled from Perge to Constantinople where she sought out an ascetic life. She began forming a plan to escape from her husband, who was not supportive of her devotion. In a dream one night, she had a vision of herself being saved by a group of monks. She awoke the next morning, shaved her head, dressed as a eunuch, and ran off to enter a monastery.[37] She remained in that monastery as a monk for three years, until one day her secret was revealed to the abbot of the monastery in a dream. He called Matrona in and questioned her at length as to how and why she had come to the monastery and kept her secret for so long.[38]

After discovering her secret, the abbot commended her for her dedication to ascetic life but sent her out of the monastery anyway (it is not clear why she faced no consequences for living in secret as a woman among men). She left and was forced to hide from her husband, who had found out what happened to her. The abbot and monks that Matrona had lived with took pity on her and arranged for her to enter a female community.[39] While living as a nun, Matrona was given a male monastic habit to wear, rather than a nun's clothing.[40] She amassed quite a following in the rest of her life, as people were amazed at her holiness and her devotion to ascetic practices. She eventually founded her own monastery, under the encouragement of the abbot who had discovered her secret. She lived the remainder of her life devoted to helping those who entered her monastery devote themselves to ascetic life.

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[36] Anonymous, "The Life of Saint Matrona of Perge," trans. Jefferey Featherstone, in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 19.
This saint's life uses entirely female pronouns throughout. In the monastery, Matrona took on the name Babylas, but for clarity's sake, I will use the name Matrona when referring to the saint.
[37] Ibid., 22.
[38] Ibid., 26-27.
[39] Ibid., 30.
[40] Ibid., 63. This information can be inferred earlier in the life, but the author does not directly address it until the very end.

Matrona's life differs from the lives Marinos and Pelagia. Yet, she also cannot be reduced to just a holy woman in disguise. Matrona chose, on two occasions, to don a man's appearance instead of maintaining her female appearance. The first time her actions mirrored the choices of Marinos and Pelagia. As a woman she chose to abandon her old life and her female appearance along with it to enter a monastery. The story of Matrona makes no mention of a shortage of female communities in the vicinity. On the contrary, Matrona had the option to enter a female monastery but chose not to do so. This may have been because she wanted to avoid detection from her husband, but she proved later in her life that it was important to her spiritual identity.

Where Matrona's story differs from the other lives is in the fact that her secret was discovered in her lifetime. After she was sent out of the monastery, she joined a nunnery. She had already committed to an ascetic life but could not continue to live around the monks and potentially lead them into temptation (because the mere knowledge of a woman being nearby is a one-way ticket to sinning, obviously). But why did Matrona continue to wear a monastic habit instead of a nun's clothes? She deliberately chose to reject a feminine presentation in favor of a masculine one, which indicates the decision held some significance beyond a disguise. Disguises correspond to some goal, which is absent in the case of Matrona. It remains problematic to speculate on how these saints might have identified themselves, but the traditional narrative that these saints were just women in disguise falls short of explaining the phenomenon.

At the same time, there are outliers in the hagiography of cross-dressing saints. The life of Saint Eugenia, for example, does not follow the same patterns or outcomes as the previous case studies. Like many of these saints, her story begins with a call to the ascetic life. Eugenia was inspired by the writing of Paul the Apostle to dedicate her life to her faith. She left Alexandria in search of someone to help her achieve this dedication and happened upon a group of monks, whom she solicited to cut her hair and clothe her as a man.[41] She was brought before a bishop, who knew of her secret as it was revealed to him in a dream, and he instructed her to maintain her male appearance and join a monastery. She continued to dedicate herself to a holy life and eventually became the abbot of the monastery.[42] Eugenia helped many people as the abbot of the monastery, including a widow who offered her many gifts

[41] Ælfric, "Saint Eugenia, Virgin," in *Lives of Saints*, trans. Walter W. Skeat (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 29.
[42] Ælfric, "Saint Eugenia," 33.

in return. Eugenia refused these gifts but one night the widow came back and tried to seduce Eugenia, thinking she was an attractive young man. When she refused again, the widow went out and accused Eugenia of assaulting her. In the face of these accusations, Eugenia revealed her secret by stripping nude in front of her father.[43] Her father was so moved by her act of faith that he converted to Christianity and gave away his wealth. Eugenia lived the rest of her life as a holy woman and helped many other women achieve a holy lifestyle like she did.[44] She was eventually martyred and venerated as a saintly hero.

Eugenia's life is not all that different from any other cross-dressing saint until she is accused of a crime. She lived an un-Christian life for many years before being inspired to turn to asceticism. She chose to enter a monastery instead of a nunnery and shaved her head and dressed as a man to do so. She lived for many years as a monk and was praised for being so devout. These are all throughlines across all cross-dressing saints' lives. Eugenia breaks from this trend when she reveals her secret to absolve herself from the crime of which she has been accused. After revealing her secret, she reclaims her female identity and lives life as a proclaimed holy woman. She served as a source of inspiration to other women, and she owns her womanhood once again. The way Eugenia is characterized in her saint's life shows a clear break from how other gender-crossing saints are portrayed. She is very clearly described as a woman after she revealed her secret. In other saints' lives, there is a hesitation on the author's part to prescribe a fully female identity to the saint after their secret was revealed.

While Eugenia may not fit the mold of a gender-crossing saints described in previous case studies, her existence does not negate the trend as a whole. This is a phenomenon within early eastern monasticism and there are bound to be outliers. While the existence of outliers like Eugenia complicate the trend, they do not disprove its existence. Eugenia serves as a sort of middle ground between gender-crossing saints and gender conformity. While she better fits the explanation of a holy woman in disguise, she does still live a portion of her life under the presentation of a man. Looking at Eugenia's life allows for a broadened view of the phenomenon of cross-dressing saints and expands the classification of who is considered gender-crossing.

It is important to bear in mind that these hagiographies, and the saints to which they pertain, did not exist in a vacuum. A variety of factors

[43] Ibid., 39.
[44] Ibid., 45.

influenced the way these saints were remembered. The unique time, place, and social constructs that surrounded these saints are the reason that this phenomenon could exist in the first place. Had any one of these factors been different, the Church might not have celebrated cross-dressing saints who challenged gender norms.

Gender-crossing saints are seen mostly between the fourth and seventh centuries.[45] While this time frame is quite large, it still gives a lot of insight into the reasons behind the treatment of these saints. This trend hit its peak during the early stages of wide-spread Christianity. The Church had not yet set the rigid gender structures associated with it today. There was a certain fluidity that allowed for these saints to negotiate traditional gender structures. The phenomenon of gender-crossing saints is situated within a larger trend that Dyan Elliot refers to as the virile or manly woman in which women acted so devoutly that they were considered to be honorary men.[46] These manly women wished to serve their faith more than any worldly purpose. While not all these women were saints, they too were recognized as something beyond women.

The manly woman allowed for gender-crossing saints to transcend gender constructs rather than transgress against them. In the eyes of early Christians, these saints were not necessarily rebelling against their femininity, but rather became something more than just a woman.[47] This distinction is important to the way these saints were described their hagiographies. If any of these saints had appeared a couple centuries prior, they likely would have been arrested because Christianity was not yet legal in the Roman Empire. Put them a couple centuries in the future and they might have faced accusations of heresy. This particular time in monastic history allowed for the existence and the celebration of these saints.

The phenomenon of gender-crossing saints was also tied to a unique geographic location. Very rarely, if at all, is there evidence of these saints west of Rome. They were limited mostly to what was the Eastern Empire and were particularly prominent in northern Africa and Syria. Even as Christianity spread to

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[45] There is little to no evidence of such saints existing before the fourth century. While there are examples of gender-crossing saints after the seventh century, things get interesting in terms of their lives and their canonization. Think Joan of Arc for example- technically she fits the description, but she was also burned at the stake for being a heretic. Things got far more complicated in the mid-late Middle Ages. Hence, this work sticks to the fourth to seventh century time frame.

[46] Elliot, "Gender and the Christian Traditions," 24-25.

[47] Purpura, "Innovating "Traditional" Women's Roles," 11.

modern day Europe, the trend of cross-dressing saints remained firmly planted in the east. This was likely due to the remnants of Greco-Roman culture that permeated into early eastern monasticism allowed for the phenomenon to exist. Cross-dressing, as well as patterns of gender transcendence, were prominent in Greco-Roman culture before the spread of Christianity. For example, prostitutes in Rome often wore a toga as an outward representation to show that they broke traditionally acceptable social boundaries.[48] Cross-dressing was also seen prominently in Greek theater. It was not uncommon to see a man dressed as a woman in a performance.

The most noteworthy examples of cross-dressing in the Greco-Roman world are the performance of kings and emperors. These powerful men adopted styles of dress that emulated certain goddesses, seemingly linking their worldly power with divine power.[49] This link to divine power is what made the cross-dressing acceptable. This same link explains the behavior of the gender-crossing saints that came after them. Their gender presentation allowed them to become closer to divine power, in this case the Christian God. With the spread of Christianity throughout the Byzantine Empire, the existing culture there was not entirely uprooted and forgotten. The similarities between the treatment of cross-dressing emperors and cross-dressing saints are not coincidental.

Even with the spread of Christianity into previously pagan cultures, the trend of cross-dressing figures in hagiography stayed in the East. In places such as Ireland, holy women were portrayed well within the boundaries of gender constructs. In Irish hagiography, women bent gender expectations, but not in their presentation or their identities. Rather, they took on traditionally male roles, such as in leadership, in the political sphere, and in warfare.[50] Medieval Irish gender constructs were more closely tied to the sociological roles each gender was responsible for than they were based on presentation or interpersonal behavior. It is also worth noting that, in Irish Christianity, most monks were also priests. This overlap set it apart from Eastern

[48] Filippo Carlá-Uhink, "'Between the Human and the Divine': Cross-dressing and Transgender Dynamics in the Graeco-Roman World,"in *TransAntiquity: Cross-Dressing and Transgender Dynamics in the Ancient World*, ed. Domitilla Campanile, Filippo Carlá-Uhink, and Margherita Facella (New York: Routledge, 2017), 12.
[49] Ibid., 20.
[50] Judith L. Bishop, "They Kept Their Skirts On: Gender-Bending Motifs in Early Irish Hagiography," in *Constructing Gender in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Sarah Sheenan and Ann Dooley (New York: Pelgrave Macmillan, 2013), 117.

monasticism. It also limited the ability for the cross-dressing saints to exist within Ireland, as the requirements to enter a monastery grew more rigorous.

This trend was also related to the higher levels of urbanization in the East. West of Rome the landscape was largely rural whereas in the East, cities were larger and closer together. Cities afforded cross-dressing saints an opportunity for anonymity. Small towns and villages were dependent on everyone knowing everyone. Cities like Antioch and Perge did not require that same familiarity to function. These saints could leave their homes and past lives relatively easily and even enter a monastery in a new city.

The Christian church has always been a deeply patriarchal society. Eastern monasticism viewed men as inherently more capable of achieving higher levels of holiness than women. The veneration of the gender-crossing saints was contingent, in part, on the fact that they were born female and later adopted a male identity. And yet, those who moved in the opposite direction, such as eunuchs, were perceived very differently. Eunuchs were often subjects of ridicule in Late Antiquity, as their castration degraded their naturally superior male traits.[51] Conversely, gender-crossing saints were met largely with regard and awe for their ability to break from their often troubled past and form a new and holier life for themselves.[52] These saints are celebrated for the way they step up the gender hierarchy.

True asceticism was genderless in the eyes of the early Eastern Church.[53] Though the saints in question did not become genderless in their pursuit of holiness, they did shed an inherently inferior gender identity in the process. Their gender transformation was seen as transcending the limits of their womanly traits to achieve sanctity.[54] They were praised for their ability to overcome what was viewed as a barrier to their holiness. These saints became something beyond what a holy woman ever could, in the eyes of the Church, once again suggesting something more complicated at work than a disguise. They shed the earthly inferiorities of womanhood to become closer to the divine. If the roles were reversed and a man had adopted womanly behavior, the reception would not have been the same. This process relies heavily on the female-to-male transformation.

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[51] Tommasi, "Cross-Dressing as Discourse," 128.
[52] Ibid., 129.
[53] Ibid., 125-126.
[54] Hunt, "Transvestite Women Saints," 15.

The way that the lives of gender-crossing saints are portrayed in history is crucial to a larger understanding of the Christian church and of the late antique period. These saints cannot be reduced to fit a label for the sake of convenience; they must be examined in all their complexities and nuances. While these saints may have been remembered in death as holy women, in life many of them were revered as holy men, and that must be acknowledged as part of the story. While labeling these saints with some modern term would be pointless, studying these saints opens the door to an examination of how non-traditional figures can be represented within monastic literature. It challenges a narrative in monastic history dominated by cisnormativity and strict gender norms. The examination of gender-crossing saints gives insight into how gender and gender structures functioned in Late Antiquity. These saints were celebrated for their gender-crossing behavior, not in spite of it, and they should be studied with that in mind.

# In the Face of Humiliation: A Reevaluation of the Mexican-American War

*By Raul Rebollar*

By April of 1846, Mexican and American relations were in shambles. The President of the United States, James K. Polk had sent General Zachary Taylor and his troops into position on the Eastern side of the Rio Grande waiting for orders to invade or the sound of Mexican gunfire. Yet even before General Taylor's invasion into Mexico, President Polk meticulously planned a war with Mexico. Polk's desire to acquire the western territories of New Mexico and California and Mexican leaders unwillingness to cooperate provoked war. Polk understood that Mexico was a new state amid building up its economy, military, and population. Polk used this reality to foster political and social humiliation to corner Mexican leaders into a war they could not win.

Since then, congressmen and historians from both nations have debated over these contributing factors between these two neighboring nations. Few historians have analyzed how Polk's provocations impacted the perspective of the Mexican public and instead default to the American conversations and opinions about the war. Historian Brack M. Gene is one of the few who has engaged. In an article, Gene critics previous historians claim that it was Mexico's arrogance that led to war with the United States. Instead, he claims that it was Polk's instigation and a tense political atmosphere in Mexico. Furthermore, he complicates the complicity of agitators from the U.S. and Mexico by compounding Polk's actions with racism in the United States and irresponsible journalism in Mexico that led to an Anti-American rhetoric in the 1830's and 40s.[1]

Post Gene few have revisited Mexican public opinion during the war and the conversation of whether; the Mexican American War was a defensive war for the U.S., one instigated by President Polk, or if Mexican arrogance led to an unavoidable conflict. Ward McAfee argues against the claim that Polk instigated conflict with Mexico and instead blames Mexico's overconfidence.[2] The conversation continued with Patrick J. Buchanan's, Nixon's former director of communications. Here Buchanan claims that Mexico believed in its own military superiority over the United

[1] Gene M. Brack. "Mexican Opinion, American Racism, and the War of 1846." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (1970): 161–74. https://doi.org/10.2307/967858.
[2] McAfee, Ward. "A Reconsideration of the Origins of the Mexican-American War." *Southern California Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (1980): 49–65https://doi.org/10.2307/41170855.

States due to a miscalculation on the intentions of the Slidell mission.[3] Not only did they ignore Polk's instigations through the Slidell mission. Both authors failed to analyze letters, newspapers, and legal documents from Mexican citizens and elected officials to find the root cause of Anti-Americanism in Mexico. They also failed to calculate the obstacles Mexico faced as a young nation.

More recent scholarship has taken a turn back in the direction of Gene's work, but with a heavier analysis on the impact the Mexican-American War had on Native Americans and postwar rather than Mexican public opinion. Historian Stephen J. Heidt argued that President Polk instigated conflict with Mexico by marching General Taylor's troops into disputed territory. Heidt demonstrated the post war influence Polk had over the narrative and his shift from acknowledging a Foreign Mexican threat to an internal Native American one.[4] Although Heidt recognized Polk's instigation of conflict to achieve his goals, he mainly focuses on American anti-expansion sentiment and the president's postwar policies that accepted Mexico as a foreign partner and expanded his influence inside the United States to enforce an Anti-Indigenous movement.[5]

Brian Delay takes a different approach. Similarly to Gene and Heidt, Delay acknowledges Polk's intentions on provoking a War with Mexico but focuses on The president's knowledge of a weak and devastated Northern Mexico due to Native American raids. Delay claims that these raids halted Mexico's economic and military progress in the Northern territories.[6] While Delay claims that Polk knew Anti-American sentiment was on the rise due to Native American raids being blamed on the United States, and that Polk had knowledge that Mexico's northern territories were devastated, he falls short of incorporating the political instigation of Polk's Slidell mission.

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[3] Buchanan, Patrick J. "Jimmy Polk's War." *The National Interest*, no. 56 (1999): 97–105. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42897183.

[4] Heidt, Stephen J. "Presidential Power and National Violence: James K. Polk's Rhetorical Transfer of Savagery." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 19, no. 3 (2016): 365–96. https://doi.org/10.14321/rhetpublaffa.19.3.0365.

[5] Heidt, Stephen J. "Presidential Power and National Violence: James K. Polk's Rhetorical Transfer of Savagery." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 19, no. 3 (2016): 365–96. https://doi.org/10.14321/rhetpublaffa.19.3.0365.

[6] Brian Delay. "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War." *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 1 (2007): 35–68. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4136006.

Unlike Mcafee and Buchanan's claims, current scholarship and sources indicate that Polk not only instigated a war with Mexico, but limited the options for Mexico's response. Polk's desire to acquire the California, New Mexico Territories, and a Rio Grande border ultimately lead him to a decision to invade Mexico. Acknowledging that Mexico would never sell its California and New Mexico territories due to the dispute over the annexation of Texas he orchestrated the conflict.

By the 1830s, Manifest Destiny existed inside the cultural and political rhetoric of the United States. Supporters sought the territorial growth of the United States through conquest. Advocates claimed religious, intellectual, physical and racial superiority over the people they pillaged and murdered to justify their colonization. Westward expansion followed suit, after the Texan Revolution ended in April of 1836, U.S. citizens eagerly pursued the annexation of the newly formed nation of Texas. John L. O'Sullivan, author of *The United States and Democratic Review*, was one of the many United States citizens who called for the annexation of Texas. He wrote; "Texas is now Ours. Already before the words are written… She is no longer to us a mere geographic space… She is no longer a mere country on the map. She comes within the dear and sacred designation of our country… Patriotism already begins to thrill for her too within the national heart."[7]

O'Sullivan's claim to Texas, even prior to its annexation, represents widespread ideas. There was popular rhetoric in favor of Texas's annexation, more recently known as the "Texas Creation Myth." This myth had three main components; First, before American arrival Mexico was a wasteland, second, American colonists were used as a defense tactic against Native Americans that Mexican citizens could not suppress, and lastly that Americans had colonized Texas quickly and with ease.[8] Not only was this a myth, but it was based on a racial superiority mindset that pushed Mexican citizens to fear or dislike American culture.

During the 1840s there were two main political parties in the United States; the Whigs and the Democrats. In 1844, these two parties nominated Henry Clay and James K Polk respectively. They had two important differences; the Democratic party supported the spread of slavery and the annexation of Texas, while the Whigs did not. Opponents of American expansion advocated against the annexation of Texas as they feared it would hurt foreign relations with Mexico and create issues on

[7] *Democratic Review*, (Washington, D.C. Langtree and O'Sullivan, 1838-1851,) 5.
[8] Brian Delay. "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War." *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 1 (2007): 49-50. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4136006.

the balance between slave states and free states. But Polk had run on a very pro-expansion agenda and with a majority of congress being two thirds Democratic party, the Whigs would not have the power to limit Polk's expansionist policies. With congressional and public support Polk indulged pursued the territorial acquisition of California, New Mexico, and Rio Grande border from Mexico and Oregon from Britain.

On the other side of the Rio Grande, Mexico had just gained its independence from Spain and was in the process of building up a fragile government, demographics, and an unstable economy. Yet the newly independent nation would began to lose its Texan territory to American settlers, creating hostility towards Texans and Americans alike. Mexico's anti-Americanism had been on the rise in the 1830s and 40s but it was not a new concept. For years Mexican public and political opinion of the United States had been tainted by many Americans' claim of white superiority over minorities.[9]

Various Mexican newspapers published stories that helped spread the fear of American colonization even further. *El Diario del Gobierno,* claimed, "Ya anuncian algunos periódicos del Norte, que de aquí a diez años un Anglo-Sajón será el presidente de México"[10] Newspapers claiming that Americans wanted to colonize Mexico aligned with the fears of American brutality and lack of respect for culture. Continuously the Catholic church feared that American expansion into Mexico would damage religious following and published their own pamphlets warning citizens against American expansion. They even encouraged Catholic immigrants to join the San Patricios battalion, a battalion made up of primarily Irish Catholics who were against the United States invasion of Mexico. Furthermore, American newspapers themselves would be used to depict the injustices suffered by Native nations, African Americans and immigrant groups often being cited by Mexican newspapers to share the atrocities with the Mexican public.

Not only could racial prejudice be seen in newspapers, but also in government debates as well. The Mexican Minister to the United States in 1836, Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza wrote; "Sooner or later (Mexican) nationality (would face a) war of race, religion, of language and of costumes."[11] After the conversation over the annexation of Texas Gorostiza returned back to Mexico with firsthand experience of American racism. Consequently, the annexation of Texas by the

[9] Brack, 167
[10] *Diario del Gobierno de la República Mexicana*, April 1, 1842
[11] Brack, 170.

United States led to the growth of anti-American rhetoric as these fears of American expansion became a reality. Partially because of these fears neither Mexico's government nor public opinion had acknowledged Texas as independent. The annexation of Texas left the newly independent nation of Mexico's global legitimacy in a humiliating position.

Another motive for the rise of anti-Americanism was the increase of Native American raids in Northern Mexico, specifically by Apache, Navajo, Kiowa and Comanche.[12] Brian Delay claimed that in the years leading up to the Mexican American war, Mexico saw an increase in the frequency of Comanche and other Native nations raids, thefts and murders. He argued that the reason for the increase in raids can be found inside Kiowa Nation's calendars and their connection to the loss of important Kiowa figures.[13] Although DeLay's work has been deemed respectable, other historians such as Matthew Babcock criticize DeLay's overemphasis of American activity in Texas and its impacts on Comanche and other groups' raids in Mexico.[14]

Throughout the 1820s and 1840s, Mexican public opinion also increasingly blamed new American trading routes, like the Santa Fe Trail, for the increased raids into Mexican territory. LeRoy R. Hafen acknowledged these changes in trade routes and its effects on Native American raids into Mexico. "Yutah Indians, worked with mountain men… these freebooters did not go through the formality of carrying… trade goods... but depended upon daring surprise raids."[15] The increased violence of these raids and its correlation to American trade made it easy for Mexicans to view it as an expansionist tactic made by Americans, further fueling anti-American sentiment.

Although the rise of Manifest Destiny in the United States and anti-Americanism in Mexico should be seen as contributing factors in the buildup of national tensions. It was Polk's manipulation of these sentiments that ultimately drove the two nations into a military conflict. Throughout negotiations with Mexico, President Polk claimed he diligently attempted to reestablish peaceful relations with Mexico. Instead, Polk used his knowledge of Mexico's economic, militaristic and political shortcomings to instigate a war through the use of Mexican public opinion.

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[12] Delay, 35.
[13] Brian Delay, 46.
[14] Matthew Babcock, *Journal of World History* 21, no. 2 (2010): 346-47.
[15] Hafen, LeRoy R. "The Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe to Los Angeles." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (1948): 149–60. https://doi.org/10.2307/3816075.

He instigated a strategy that left Mexican political figures one choice, to defend Mexico from oncoming invaders or risk being exiled by the American public.

The United States' public response to Manifest Destiny could be seen in a variety of newspapers and literature which greatly impacted the election of 1844. It was Polk's position on the expansion of the United States that ultimately led to him winning both the popular and electoral vote. The election provided President Polk with the autonomy to seek his ambitions in expanding westward to Texas, New Mexico, Oregon and California.[16] Unlike Polk, Mexican leaders' did not have control over Mexican citizens' public opinion, or media and instead they were hindered by the limitations placed by its citizens.

With the election of President Polk and his stance on the Texas annexation issue, Mexican public opinion continued sour with the United States. Newspaper publications created a fear in Mexican citizens that greatly limited the ability of Mexican leaders to avoid war.[17] It was clear that the President of Mexico, Jose Joaquin de Herrera understood that Mexico was not yet in a position to win a war against the United States. Mexico lacked resources, weapons, money, foreign aid and the demographics capabilities to even defend themselves against the United States and because of this Herrera claimed the loss of Texas as an irreversible measure.[18] Yet despite the growing tensions between the nations, the United States continued its hostilities and humiliation towards Mexico. Leaving President Herrera, an advocate of anti-Americanism himself, with nothing more than a loaded gun that could not reach its target. In the end, President Herrera stood powerless in de-escalating tension between the two nations.

The same Native American raids that fueled anti-American sentiment stunted development in Northern Mexico. In the twelve years leading up to the Mexican U.S war, raids not only became more frequent but also increasingly violent towards Mexican citizens, killing over 2,000 in those years alone decimating civilian populations and economic centers.[19] Mexican leaders including President Herrera were critiqued for providing no military aid, instead congress categorized the raids as local criminal issues. The destruction of Northern Mexico fueled public opinion in both Mexico and the United States, reflecting itself in various newspapers. Many Mexican newspapers focused on the damage caused by Native American raids,

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[16] Polk. K. James, *The Diary of James K. Polk* (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & co. 1910)
[17] *Diario del Gobierno de la República Mexicana*, April 1, 1842 p. 4
[18] Brack, 161–74.
[19] Delay, 35–68.

criticism of the United States for its participation, and criticism of the Mexican government for the lack of intervention. These newspapers made it painfully clear that Northern Mexico was left devastated and weak by these raids.

Americans in the United States who favored the Democratic party shared many of the same criticisms of raids. Manifest destiny motivated Americans to expand Westward into Mexican territory. Mexico's lack of military protection in the North supported the idea that Mexicans were incapable of protecting themselves. Leaving some Americans with the idea "that the Mexicans are wholly incapable of self-government."[20] Waddy Thompson Jr. the U.S representative and Minister to Mexico claimed that Mexico's army was humiliatingly disloyal, unorganized and weak. He wrote; "As conclusive proof of their inferiority. Frequent incursions are far into… Mexico by… Comanches… Of all our western tribes the Comanches are the most cowardly."[21] By using Comanches tribes as a measuring point Thomson claimed military superiority over the Mexican army. This claim would further motivate Americans to believe not only that war with Mexico would be easy, but that it would be just.

The lack of military manpower and resources caused by existing Native Americans threats in the North led President Herrera to heavily advise against war with the United States, believing the defeat to be almost guaranteed. Unfortunately, Herrera quickly learned that Mexican public opinion against the United States would be more than he could quench. To avoid war President Herrera agreed to meet with commissioner John Slidell, leaving the Mexican media distrustful of Herrera. By December of 1845 Herrera would be overthrown by Mariano Paredes Y Arigalla. As Paredes rose to power in Mexico, he praised anti-American rhetoric. In his manifesto, *Manifiesto del Exmo. Sr. Presidente Interino de la República Mexicana,* Paredes calls to arms his fellow Mexican Citizens to defend the nation from "Los invasores, sin mirada a la justicia"[22] Padres called Mexican men to join this unjust

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[20] William Wharton, *Texas: A Brief Account of the Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Colonial Settlements of Texas, Together with an Exposition of the Causes Which Have Induced the Existing War with Mexico* (Nashville: 1836.)

[21] Thompson Waddy, *Recollections of Mexico* (Wiley and Putnam, Harvard University, 1846.)

[22]Paredes Y Arrillaga, Mariano, Announcement from Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga to his troops, September 27, 1845: (San Luis Potosi, Mexico, September 27, 1845), 2.

war cast upon by the United States “Las armas por nuestra independencia, por nuestra seguridad, y por nuestro honor”[23]

For Mexico, the stakes of the war were exponentially higher than the rewards and the probability of success was ever fleeting. While historians such as McAfee claim that it was Mexico's eagerness and confidence that led to war with the United States it was in fact the contrary. Between Norteño’s accounts of Native American raids, economic instability and letters from General Mariano Arista it was clear to President Paredes and other Mexican officials that Mexico would lose the war. General Arista letters described the situation as “dreadful”[24] and feared that the nation of Mexico would be “Dominated by Americans” if they decided to attack.[25] But because of Mexican public opinion President Paredes would have no choice but to protect the border from the oncoming invaders. Instead, it was Americans' confidence based on the ongoing destruction of Mexico by raids and its claim to expand based on manifest destiny that motivated Americans to instigate war with Mexico.

If it wasn’t Mexico’s eagerness for war, nor their confidence in their ability, what could have driven Mexico and its leaders to war? Humiliation, for years anti-Americanism, had led public opinion to feel threatened by American presence. Fears of racism, extinction of Catholicism, colonization, the expansion of slavery and Native American threats pushed the Mexican public to despise the United States. By the early 1840s tensions were so high that officials who opposed the war risked being labeled as traitors. Many Mexican politicians feared they would suffer the same fate as Ex-President Herrera and because of it, if they opposed the war they would only voice their opinions privately. In 1845 United States Minister of Mexico, Wilson Shannon described the situation as such, “Mexicans who realized war would be “ruinous” and “disastrous” were compelled to join the public clamor, in order to maintain their positions.”[26] Like Herrera, Peredas and other Mexican governmental leaders understood that a war against the United States would be detrimental to the development of the nation. Nonetheless, fearing the loss of their positions Mexican leaders had one choice; protect the national border and ignore the United States offers to buy land.

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Arista to Paredes, July 13, 1845, Paredes Papers.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Brack, 165.

Older U.S historians argued that Mexico's irresponsibly held their claim of Texas after its independence, or that Mexico could have negotiated with Minister Slidell in order to receive a better deal. Unfortunately for Mexican leaders those choices were an illusion as their very positions depended on their support for the war. Between newspaper articles, United States diplomats' accounts, and information from John Slidell, President James K. Polk knew that Mexican public opinion would accept nothing less than a war. Polk's ideas of superiority over the Mexican army stemmed from the Ministers' of Mexico. In 1846 in describing the Mexican Army Waddy Thompson Jr. wrote; " [If I] was offered then thousand more Mexican troops, that I would not take them."[27] Thompson further clarifies that this is largely due to the disorganization of the Mexican government, lack of patriotism and overall lack of work ethic. Using Shannon's claim that Mexican officials would lose their positions if they opposed the war and various sources of Mexico's northern devastation and military weaknesses Polk knew that the Mexican government was left with very little choices. Yet instead of waiting for a Mexican surrender Polk used instigation tactics that left Mexican officials no other choice but to defend their nation from oncoming invaders. Despite it being a war Mexico knew they could not win but in attempts to save itself from global humiliation they would fall right in President Polk's trap.

During his Presidency, Polk presented a strong desire for the westward expansion of the United States justified by manifest destiny. Although Mexican public opinion was furious over the Annexation of Texas in March 1845, not long after President Polk had expressed a desire to acquire not just the New Mexico territory but upper California and Oregon as well. Four months later in August of 1845, Polk wrote in his diary; "The minister, [John Slidell] would be instructed to purchase… Upper California and New Mexico."[28] It's impossible that President Polk had no knowledge of the anti-American sentiment brewing in Mexico over the annexation of Texas. This is made clear by President Polk's diary itself that exposes his true intentions of acquiring California and the New Mexico territories, though conquest.

On March 28th, 1846, Polk described his inability to bribe the newly established government, Paredes, into selling territory. Polk reflected on "the Government of Paredes… great need of money" and his belief that it would "induce him to make a Treaty, which he would not otherwise venture to make."[29] Surrounded

[27] Waddy, 170.
[28] Polk. K. James, *The Diary Of James K Polk* (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & co. 1910)
[29] Polk, 307.

by Ministers of Mexico such as Thompson, Shannon and Slidell who advocated Mexico's military weakness, anti-American public opinion and economic devastation Polk must have understood Mexico's position when facing the United States. With all the information accessible to Polk, it's clear to him that the only way of acquiring Mexican territory would be war. And because of Polk's goals of territorial expansion he would begin to instigate a war with Mexico that not even the Whigs could refuse.

While President Polk and his cabinet firmly believed a war with Mexico would be quick, easy and profitable they would still need to devise a plan to gain congressional support. To gain support Polk understood that he would first need to exhaust all other possible means of diplomacy between the two nations. To accomplish this President Polk sent John Slidell to Mexico as an ambassador for peace under the title, Minister. John Sildell was given two main objectives; mend national relations, and purchase land from Mexico. Mcafee claimed Mexican responsibility over the war and often used Mexico's refusal to discuss a treaty, over the title of "Minister", as an argument to prove Mexico's arrogance. When writing to President Polk, Slidell himself blames the Mexican government; "throw all the responsibility, odium of the failure of the negotiations on the Mexican government."[30] In reality it was Polk's cabinet that intentionally sent John Slidell to Mexico with the incorrect credentials in order to instigate national conflicts.

Before the arrival of Slidell in Mexico, Mexico's Minister of Foreign affairs, Manuel Pena y Pena had invited an "Ad Hoc Commissioner" to discuss the annexation of Texas.[31] Polk's disregard for the title of Slidell was perceived as a clear statement towards Mexico and its officials, Texas is ours. Although Polk may not have acknowledged the issue over Slidell's credentials as a serious matter publicly, in November of 1845 Secretary of State James Buchanan wrote to Slidell about Mexican sentiment stating; "The people… are proverbially jealous and.. irritated against the United States… I need not warn you against wounding their national vanity."[32] After being denied an audience, Polk asked Slidell to stay in Mexico in attempts to meet with the newly established Mexican government, this time Slidell would ignore Buachanon warnings. Mexico's Foreign Minister, Juaquin De Castillo y Lanzas, spoke out against Slidell conduct; "No doubt the military superiority of the United States has inspired Mr. Slidell's threatening language… But

[30] Piero Gleijeses, "A Brush with Mexico." *Diplomatic History* 29, no. 2 (2005): 231. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24914848.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Buchanan to Slidell, 10 November 1845, Manning, Diplomatie Correspondence, p; 181

no matter how strong and powerful that government may be, no matter how easily it may steal new territories from us, it can never rob us of our honor…This prerogative is a direct result of the nation's sovereignty and independence."[33] And by the end of March 1846 Slidell would be on his way back to the United States without ever being received by the Mexican government. Upon Slidell's arrival it became clear to President Polk that Mexico would refuse to sell its territories to the United States and began to devise a plan to gain further political support for a war with Mexico.

Polk feared that John Slidell's mission would not be enough to justify war; so he further instigated tensions by ordering General Zachary Taylor's army to be positioned at the national border. On April 7th, 1846, Polk learned of Slidell's departure from Mexico without being received and shortly after ordered General Taylor to prepare an offensive. Even without resolution Taylor's instructions were to take control of the disputed land between El Rio Grande and the Nueces River. Taylor reported that as they approached the Rio Grande a group of Mexican Soldiers requested for them to halt and threatened them with war. From Taylor's recollection of the events after threatening Mexican soldiers with artillery, Mexican soldiers turned around and fled.[34] Looking at maps predating 1840, both Mexican and Texans alike claimed the National border at the Nueces river.[35] It was Polk's orders to advance to the Rio Grande that led to Mexican officials to declare war against the United States and protect themselves from the "Invasores"[36]

Unfortunately for Mexico, American Whigs and anti-imperialist were too occupied with the annexation of Texas and Oregon, their relation to slave states and fears of foreign influence to pay due attention to the Mexican-American border. Furthermore, because of the signing of the Oregon Treaty with Great Britain over the acquisition of the Oregon territory in 1846, American politicians paid even less mind to the acquisition of Mexican territories. Americans who had built racial divides were more fearful of white European powers, seeing them as a more dominating force. The fear of European presence in the Americas had been a constant one, more directly seen through the pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. Giving

[33]Gleijeses, 231.
[34] Ibid., 236.
[35] James Mitchell Young and Samuel Augustus, *A New Map of Texas Contiguous American and Mexican States* (S.A. Mitchell: Philadelphia, 1836.)
[36] Paredes Y Arrillaga, Mariano, Announcement from Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga to his troops, September 27, 1845 (San Luis Potosi, Mexico, September 27, 1845,) 18

Polk the ability to mold American policy towards instigating war with Mexico with little protest from opposing parties.[37]

President Polk himself did not have the power to declare war against Mexico, instead Polk used Slidell's humiliation of Mexico and Taylor's invasion into disputed territory to force Mexico into war. Polk's knowledge of Mexican public opinion, economic instability, governmental instability, and militaristic disadvantages was crucial to the instigation of the war. Through his diary it's clear that President Polk understood that Mexico was poor, and unable to afford weapons, clothing, food, blankets and other supplies needed to maintain an Army.[38] Furthermore it was Polk's knowledge of Mexico's public opinion and weakened military that aided him in establishing a sense of American moral superiority that would motivate congress into declaring war.

President Polk heavily relied on Mexican public opinion to deter Mexican officials from settling the matter diplomatically. While Polk did attempt to bribe President Paredes to acquire New Mexico and California, he knew the offer would most likely be denied. Polk understood that many Mexican politicians would never risk sympathizing with the United States at the cost of being accused of treason. Selling territory to or even meeting with the United States could mark Mexican officials as tratorus, making the Slidell mission ineffective from the beginning. Furthermore, Polk knew that Slidell's inability to meet with Mexican politicians would be seen as an act of aggression or national humiliation by the American public and congress.

Polk's attempts to hide his instigation could be seen through his *War Message to Congress;*

> " Mr. John Slidell… was entrusted with the full powers to adjust both the question of the Texas boundary and indemnification of our citizens… Not only was the offer rejected, but the indignity of its rejection was enhanced by the manifest breach of faith in refusing to admit the envoy who came because they had bound themselves to receive him."[39]

In Polk's attempt to gain congressional support for the war he changed the purpose of Slidell's mission publicly. Instead of mentioning his drive for territorial

[37] Gleijeses, 234.
[38] Polk. K. James, *The Diary of James K. Polk* (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & co. 1910)
[39] Polk, K. James, War Message to Congress: May 11, 1846 (United States Congress 1846)

acquisition, or Minister Slidell's credential issue, Polk ignored them entirely. While Mexico's refusal of Slidell could be seen as an act of bad faith, it was no reason to declare war. Instead Slidell's rejection becomes a scapegoat for Polk to justify his military actions at the National border.

The most direct evidence historians have of Polk's instigation comes from his orders to march an American army into disputed territory. Again, when calling for war Polk intentionally distorted the situation and instead claims that; "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon the American soil."[40] Polk's omission of his orders to invade disputed territory showcases how much he feared political opposition would claim he started the war. Abraham Lincoln was one of those American senators calling for a review of Polk's claims. Lincoln questioned the legitimacy of Polk's claims that Mexico; "shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our own soil."[41] Unfortunately it would not be until December 22 of 1847 that Lincoln's "Spot resolutions" would begin to take place.[42]

In 1846, due to Polk's manipulation of chronology and details, the United States Congress decided to declare war against Mexico, claiming Mexico invaded American territory and attacked Taylor's unit. Nonetheless private journals, letters and diaries of American political leaders, soldiers and citizens alike showed a clear understanding of Polk's instigation for war. In a letter dated April 21st 1846, Lt. George Meade wrote; " I am led to believe that Mexico has no intention of declaring war… But I fear Mr. Polk… desires war with Mexico" Meade continues to point out; "The requiring Mr. Slidell to insist on being received as a Minister was a sad blunder of Mr. Polks if he desired peace; but my impression is he desires war. Meade's letter, written prior to the commencement of the Mexican American War, provides historians with a very alternative perspective than the one offered by President Polk in his speech calling for war. Through Polk's actions politically, and militaristically it's clear to American soldiers that Polk diplomacy poses the biggest threat for the commencement of a war.

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[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Lincoln, Abraham Resolution introduced by Congressman Abraham Lincoln to "establish whether the particular spot. of soil which the blood of our citizens was so shed was, or was not, our own soil." Often referred to as Lincoln's Spot Resolution, 1-3 (US House Of Representatives; December 22 1847)

Although President Polk's war message to Congress omitted various details that showed Polk's acts of aggression, few American leaders chose to question Polk's claims. The American public support for manifest destiny encouraged westward expansion and Polk himself. Another key factor for Polks congressional support was American leaders' confidence in the ability to win. While some American officials warned President Polk against war, it was largely due to fears of European involvement and not Mexico's ability itself.[43] The coverage of Native American raids into Mexico and claims of racial superiority further assured Americans that the war with Mexico would be a quick and decisive victory. It was that confidence in American superiority of Mexico that would lead to the complacency of American figures that allowed for the United States to invade Mexico under President Polk's ruse of self defense.

President Polk's understanding of anti-American public opinion in Mexico aided him in presenting a peaceful diplomatic solution that Mexican leaders could never accept. Furthermore, Polk understood that sending Minister John Slidell with the wrong credentials and for the purpose of buying land would anger Mexican leaders and citizens. To Polk, the Slidell mission was not a means to encourage peaceful diplomacy, instead it was a calculated mission to create political instability within Mexico's government. Mexican leaders had little choice but to include themselves in the public call for military action, but they consistently fell short of declaring war with the United States. Consequently, Polk's knowledge of Mexico's militaristic weakness and economic instability created an opening to instigate war even further. To do this he introduced a new variable - placing the United States Army at the border.

The invasion of the American army into disputed territory during Slidell's missions further shows Polk's lack of interest in diplomatic peaceful negotiations. Not only were Mexican officials, such as Mexico's Foreign Minister Juaquin Del Castillo y Lanzas, informed of a military build up at their border, they acknowledged its strength. Unfortunately for Mexican officials Polk's plan to instigate war was becoming unavoidable. Through Mexican military leaders' perspectives it was imperative that war with the United States would be avoided. Unfortunately, Polk grew tired of waiting for a Mexican attack and after John Slidell's empty handed departure from Mexico, Polk ordered an invasion into Mexican territory. Leaving Mexican soldiers with no choice but to defend. Ultimately, it would be the rejection

[43] Gleijeses, 250.

of John Slidell and death of American soldiers on disputed land that would ultimately lead the American congress into declaring war.

Following the declaration of war, the United States army won a series of decisive victories that ultimately led to the defeat of the Mexican army near Mexico city. General Zachary Taylor's letters recalled his conquest of an already destroyed Mexico, and stories of defenseless Mexican citizens who sought and provided aid to the American military. On the February 2, 1848 the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed and the war came to an end. The treaty consisted of three main territorial exchanges, the Rio Grande border, New Mexico territory, and the upper California territory.[44] In return the United States assumed Mexico's debt and paid them an additional $15 million. The United States demanded for the newly acquired territory correlate with Polk's original goals of territorial expansion, regardless of the payout he knew would have been impossible if war was avoided.

In conclusion, the defeat of Mexico by the United States further reflects Mexican leaders' lack of cohesive support for the war. Beyond historical narratives, Mexico's current post war narrative of the war further supports this claim. Today, Mexican citizens are taught about the war through a completely different lens than the one provided to most American citizens. La intervención estadounidense en México is portrayed as an invasion, in which the United States stole Mexican territory through unjust means. Meanwhile the historiography and retelling of the Mexican-American War remains tainted. President James K. Polk instigated war with Mexico through the manipulation of Mexico's economic, militaristic and political shortcomings rather than Mexican political leaders' overconfidence and arrogance.

[44] Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (United States Congress, February 2, 1848)

# Historical Memoir

## Risk for the Betterment of Lives

*By Aylin Rosales*

There are many factors of life that are determined by the decisions that our ancestors made, they leave a lasting impact on us and therefore impact future generations. This is especially true when a person decides to relocate to a new country, and an even bigger decision when a whole family decides to relocate. This was the case for many families immigrating to the United States from Mexico in the 1990s.[1] Since they are neighboring nations, the United States and Mexico have had a long-standing relationship that goes back many years. This relation was solidified with the making of the Bracero Program in 1942, which was a program between the governments of Mexico and the United States to bring in Mexican citizens to work under contract in the agricultural sector.[2] By 1964, about 5.2 million Mexican men had participated in the program, which led to changes in their lives, for better or worse, or a little bit of both.[3] Although this program was a legal effort between the two nations, it still led to workers being underpaid, overworked, and caused strains in familial ties.[4] This treatment of documented workers, can only show how the situation was, and currently is, for undocumented people in America. Around the

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[1] Critical sources for this research were the oral interviews I took of my grandfathers, Jose Rosales (paternal) and Adolfo Ibarra (maternal). I learned the importance of oral history for understanding how families have dealt with issues such as immigration and work in the seminar on Family History with Dr. Kyle Ciani. Our readings introduced us to the multiple memories of an experience, and my grandfathers' experiences of immigration from Mexico demonstrate some of those findings. We read the following to introduce us to oral history and the family: Phillip J. Deloria, "Thinking about Self in a Family Way," *Journal of American History* 89:1 (June 2002): 25-29; Sumiko Higashi, "Not a 'Kodak Moment'," *Rethinking History* 6:2 (July 2002): 201-207; and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "A Pail of Cream," *Journal of American History* 89:1 (June 2002): 43-47.

[2] Ana Elizabeth Rosas, Ana Elizabeth Rosas, *Abrazando el Espíritu: Bracero Families Confront the US-Mexico Border* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 5.

[3] Rosas, *Abrazando el Espíritu*, 7.

[4] Ibid., 7.

mid-1980s, there were an estimated amount of 5 million documented Mexicans and another 2 million undocumented Mexicans; the numbers have only grown.[5] Undocumented workers face a large number of challenges for the betterment of lives and use the connections they have to better feel at home when there is a sense of uneasiness regarding the future.

One of the cities with a prominent Mexican population is Chicago. In fact, the 2000 census ranked Chicago as having the second largest urban concentration of Mexican residents, with 625,000 people being in the city and over 1.1 million people in the metropolitan area.[6] Over the years, industries such as the steel mills, rail yards, and meatpacking plants, had brought Mexican immigrants into the city.[7] Both of my grandfathers were a part of this factory worker population, in Chicago, since Latinos (2/3 being Mexican), were twice as likely to be factory workers than African Americans or whites, yet Latinos earn the least amount of wages.[8] This led to Chicago neighborhoods, such as the South Chicago and Back of the Yards to have a high Mexican influence. Julia Garcia De Morales had moved to the Back of the Yards district, with one of her teenage daughters, in 1982, to live with her husband after years of being separated.[9] She explained how she was constantly afraid of being deported and therefore stayed in her house with minimal trips outside to further prevent deportation. Eventually, she overcame her fear and ventured out to Chicago for employment and enjoyment.[10] Julia's daughter Betty remembered that "You go out and everyone in the street talks to you" and Julia's husband, Faustino Morales, acknowledged that friendly environment by noting, "You would think it was Mexico here. That's why we don't feel anything, we think we're in Guadalajara."[11] Betty's comment shows how a neighborhood, like the Back of the Yards, positively influenced Mexican immigrants who lived in a place far from their home and family.[12]

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[5] Marilyn P. Davis, *Mexican Voices/American Dreams: An Oral History of Mexican Immigration to the United States* (1st ed. New York: H. Holt, 1990), 199.
[6] Nicholas De Genova*, Working the Boundaries: Race, Space, and "Illegality" in Mexican Chicago* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 2005), 116-117.
[7] Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz, "Willing to Work: Agency and Vulnerability in an Undocumented Immigrant Network," *American Anthropologist* 112, no. 2 (2010), 298.
[8] De Genova*, Working the Boundaries*, 124.
[9] Davis, *Mexican Voices/American Dreams,* 218.
[10] Ibid.*,* 219.
[11] Ibid., 219; 224.
[12] Ibid.*,* 224.

In the 1970s, the decline of the steel industry resulted in people relocating to other neighborhoods in the 1980s. Although the South Chicago Mexican population remained high, the historical Mexican community relocated to Hegewisch, South Deering, and the East Side neighborhoods.[13] The East Side went from having a 13% Latino population in 1980 to having a 40% Latino population in 1990.[14] My grandfathers were part of this shift. My paternal grandfather, Jose Rosales, moved from South Chicago to the East Side in the early 1990s where my maternal grandfather, Adolfo Ibarra, also lived, and they became neighbors on Ave O in the East Side District. Jose had first moved to Chicago because of his connection to his father-in-law, *Don* Angel, who was already established in the city in 1987, because of his work with the Union Pacific Railroad.[15] Adolfo had decided to relocate to Chicago because of the familial and friend network set from his previous stay in Chicago from 1976 to 1981; his father, *Don* Trino, had been there in 1976 with a brother while working in a cookie factory.[16] The making of networks within Chicago was common for many other families, considering that a large amount of Mexican migrants were coming from the central-western Mexican states, like Jalisco, where Jose and Adolfo are originally from, along with those from Michoacán, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato.[17] These networks helped my grandfather Adolfo, his wife, and four young children with housing and clothing items, when the rest of the family had reunited with my grandfather in 1992 and were having a financially hard time.[18]

Besides offering a sense of community, these social networks provided the main way in which undocumented people secured jobs. Both of my grandfathers found jobs with the help, or recommendations, of family and friends. Faustino, an immigrant worker in Chicago, attributed his hiring as a dishwasher to one of his friends who had currently been working at the restaurant.[19] These networks do narrow the options available to people but trusting the employer is critical to the safety of undocumented workers.[20] An employee's legal status limits the positions

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[13] De Genova*, Working the Boundaries*, 117.
[14] John J. Betancur "The Settlement Experience of Latinos in Chicago: Segregation, Speculation, and the Ecology Model," *Social Forces* 74, no. 4 (1996), 1309.
[15] Jose Rosales, Interview by Aylin Rosales, March 14, 2023, Personal Interview; and Adolfo Ibarra, Interview by Aylin Rosales, March 15, 2023, Personal Interview.
[16] Adolfo Ibarra, Personal Interview.
[17] De Genova*, Working the Boundaries*, 3.
[18] Adolfo Ibarra, Personal Interview.
[19] Davis, *Mexican Voices/American Dreams,* 222.
[20] Matthew Hall, Emily Greenman, and Youngmin Yi, "Job Mobility Among Unauthorized Immigrant Workers," *Social Forces* 97, no. 3, (2019), 1003.

available to undocumented workers and confines them to the sectors of informal, contractual, and temporary labor because they live under the constant threat of deportation.[21]

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) implemented penalties to employers who hired undocumented workers.[22] The increased arrival of immigrants as well as the penalties implemented by the IRCA, led to a widespread decrease in wages.[23] Many employers lowered wages in exchange for the increased cost and risk of hiring undocumented workers. This was a big change from the 1950s to 1970s, when the wages increased for Mexican immigrants.[24] Amounts paid to undocumented groups of workers is still less than it is for other groups of people, with them earning an average of 20 percent less than citizen or Visa-protected workers.[25] Employers also passed on the costs of providing their undocumented workers with fraudulent documents, as laws now required them to turn in some sort of legal documentation for their employees.[26]

The IRCA offered our family a positive situation as it was the deciding factor for my grandfather Jose to stay in the United States. In fact, when he had heard of the legislation in 1986, he worked as a farm worker, gathering almonds, in California and was in the process of renewing his contract.[27] Instead of returning to Mexico before his contract ended, he went straight to Chicago to meet with my great-grandfather, *Don* Angel. My grandfather had been planning on returning to Mexico, but this change of plan was brought upon the amnesty granted to workers who had, "reliably served their apprenticeships in 'illegality'.[28]

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[21] Hall, Greenman, and Yi, "Job Mobility Among Unauthorized Immigrant Workers," 1004.
[22] Andrew M. Baxtor and Alex Nowrasteh,"A Brief History of U.S. Immigration Policy from the Colonial Period to the Present Day," (Cato Institute, 2021), 17.
[23] Douglas S. Massey and Kerstin Gentsch,"Undocumented Migration to the United States and the Wages of Mexican Immigrants," *The International Migration Review* 48, no. 2 (2014), 496.
[24] Massey and Gentsch, "Undocumented Migration," 483.
[25] Massey and Gentsch, "Undocumented Migration," 491.
[26] De Genova*, Working the Boundaries*, 235-236.
[27] Jose Rosales, Personal Interview.
[28] De Genova*, Working the Boundaries*, 235.

Many other people benefited from this portion of the act: 84 percent of migrants who applied for amnesty were in Chicago and the Chicagoland area.[29]

In general, being an undocumented worker meant having to risk deportation just by going about one's day. While working in California, Jose recalled having to sleep next to a stream, along with other workers, because of the raids ICE would carry out at night throughout farms in the barracks of workers.[30] During my interview with Jose, he told me when working in Chicago that:

> *Y simplemente trabajando, a veces había gente adrede decía, '¡Ay, viene la migra!' y era un corredero de gente*./ And simply working, sometimes there was people who on purpose would say, 'Here comes ICE' and people would start running.[31]

He remembered that he, his wife, and five children had to be careful while going anywhere because of the constant threat of deportation.

Deportation became a mechanism used by employers to implement subjugation and labor discipline.[32] Instances of this mistreatment have been documented throughout the United States. In the early 1980s, Elena Rodriguez was a young adult in Chicago when she had met two brothers who were in a difficult dilemma.[33] They were working at a restaurant at night to clean the establishment and wash dishes. The brothers worked 16-hour shifts but earned only $1 per hour. When the brothers wanted to leave for jobs that paid higher wages, the owner threatened to call immigration. The free will to do what one desires, a sense of autonomy, was frequently threatened and left some people to live in constant worry. In another instance, Guadalupe Buendía Mendoza who worked as a nanny without papers in California during the 1980s suffered several indignities. She was underpaid, could not leave the house without one of her employers going with her, and was discouraged from attending school.[34] When Guadalupe notified them of her intent to leave, they held her immigration status over her. Guadalupe did leave that nanny job but only after others denied her their help because of their tenuous immigrant status. For many immigrants living in the Chicago Suburbs, remaining in a job that had poor

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[29] De Genova*, Working the Boundaries*, 235.
[30] Jose Rosales, Personal Interview.
[31] Jose Rosales, Personal Interview.
[32] De Genova*, Working the Boundaries*, 223-224.
[33] Davis, *Mexican Voices/American Dreams,* 239-240.
[34] Ibid.*,* 267.

working conditions was a better option than having to take a longer commute, and therefore being exposed for a longer period of time.[35]

> When asked whether he faced discrimination, my grandfather Jose answered that*, Si, pues todo el tiempo lo a vivido, todo el tiempo, la vida/* Yes, well all the time I have lived it, all the time, in life.[36]

In one work situation, a food packing company, it was a common practice to force the Hispanic workers to work longer and harder when other non-Hispanic workers were able to sit on chairs when they worked. When a Hispanic person would pull up a chair, the supervisors immediately would yell*,"¡Eh, Levántate!/* Hey, stand up!" This blatant form of discrimination showed people in a position of power applying control over a group of people just because those workers could not challenge the discrimination. Everyone was afraid to stand up for themselves, because of their legal status. Speaking out would be putting at risk their job, and making themselves, and their family, a target for deportation.

Not having the ability to unionize is another effect of being an undocumented worker. In 2008, workers at a Chicago meatpacking plant were handed no-match papers, which meant they were given a few days to fix their papers or they would face termination. Ricardo, who had been working there for 13 years, went to a Chicago Union to try and get their support, but he was turned down, due to his undocumented status.[37] In the absence of union groups that help undocumented immigrants, organizations were created to provide support for these workers. In a Chicago Suburb, the group ADELANTE became dedicated to providing support in the defense of workers' autonomy.[38] The thought that Mexican workers are always "willing to work" has been disputed with the common desire to be employed within a unionized job, just as it has been a priority for other immigrant workers from other countries.[39]

Yet, not all employers exploit undocumented workers. My grandfather, Adolfo, discussed how he learned about a food packing job through one of his

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[35] Ruth Gomberg-Munoz and Laura Nussbaum-Barberena, "Is Immigration Policy Labor Policy?: Immigration Enforcement, Undocumented Workers, and the State," *Human Organization* 70, no. 4 (2011), 370.
[36] Jose Rosales, Personal Interview.
[37] Gomberg-Munoz and Nussbaum-Barberena, "Is Immigration Policy Labor Policy?," 369.
[38] Ibid., 372.
[39] Ibid., 302.

friends. Once he was employed, he felt comfortable enough to send for the rest of his immediate family from Mexico. He related to me how he felt about this job that he worked for over 30 years:

> *Bendita, yo agradezco mucho, estoy muy contento con la compañía que trabaje porque era compañía de comida y había mucha facilidad con que nos daban comida bien barata, era comida en lata, en botes, charolas, comida muy buena*/ Blessed, I am thankful, am very happy with the company that I worked with because it was a food company and it was easy for them to give us cheap food, they were in cans, bins, trays, good food.[40]

The company supported Adolfo in keeping him employed and in providing food to the family at a time when money was tight and the family was growing. In 1993, after working there for three years, the company had a crackdown on undocumented workers but decided to take Adolfo "off the books" because they loved his work ethic. Even though they kept him on the job, there was always the risk of being caught by immigration or being abruptly dismissed from the job without an explanation and without any way to fight the dismissal. Importantly, throughout this time, he was not entitled to any benefits that other documented workers on the same position would have access to such as life or health insurance, access to sick day claims, and vacation time.

The idea that there is a "Mexican work ethic" has helped and hurt Mexican workers of all legal statuses because it normalizes doing extremely hard labor, that many people are not willing to do. This label is a part of "naturalizing their [Mexican] historical subordination," but workers have taken the label and have made it work for them and their community members.[41] Using these stereotypes, the hiring of other family members and friends has been made easier since there is the assumption that they too would be hard workers. Having good work ethic meant having more job security, since workers were able to build themselves a reputation with employers. Workers that are consider themselves, "willing to work," relate this act with "integrity and bravery" which helps workers with their identity and self-esteem.[42] There is also a larger sense of connection between these workers, as the employers are usually willing to have the workers who bring in new employers to train and teach them the ways of the job.[43] When a new worker is not performing as

[40] Adolfo Ibarra, Personal Interview.
[41] Gomberg-Muñoz, "Willing to Work," 297.
[42] Ibid., 302.
[43] Ibid., 300.

well as expected, the workers will complete their task and then take it upon themselves to discuss with the worker what needs to be improved, instead of immediately going to the owners or managers.

The Immigration Act of 1990 added to the regulations that made the penalties for being undocumented higher.[44] Along with the act came the opportunity for family reunification which then allowed for Jose to get his wife and five children, including my dad, their papers in order. He remembers completing this process early 1991, after hearing of a lawyer in Downtown Chicago who was helping immigrants with this process and was offering a family bundle pack at a low price. Jose remembers being one of the lucky families before it was more difficult to get all the papers in order. This is most likely due to the cap on family reunification visas allotted by the act. My paternal grandparents gained their citizenship, soon afterwards. My other grandfather, Adolfo, and my grandmother were able to get proper documentation after my mother, who is a U.S. citizen, sponsored them in 2003. My grandfather received his citizenship as soon as he could and my grandmother became a citizen in 2021, after years of experiencing anxiety surrounding the citizenship test.

Overall, being undocumented in the 21st century is almost no different than having been undocumented in this country 30 years ago. In spite of the fact that undocumented workers are "hard working, tax paying, law abiding" and generally good people, we continue to deny basic human rights for these groups of people that are trying their best to improve the situations of themselves and their families.[45] As my grandfather Adolfo explained*, "No es facile, se le bataya, se le sufre.* / It is not easy, you struggle, you suffer."[46]

One can hope that legislation, organizations, and communities help to ease the suffering and struggles that come along with being undocumented.

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[44] De Genova*, Working the Boundaries*, 236.
[45] Gomberg-Munoz and Nussbaum-Barberena, "Is Immigration Policy Labor Policy?," 372.
[46] Adolfo Ibarra, Personal Interview.